THE ORIGINS OF THE KOUROS

By

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This document is dedicated to my mom.

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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THE ORIGINS OF THE KOUROS

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The kouros (kouroi) is a large scale, hard stone, freestanding, nude male Greek sculpture. It was the dominant form of male statuary in the Greek Archaic period, which was from 650 to 480 BC. The kouros is a problematic type of sculpture because it has features not used in previous Greek sculpture, it was made for a relatively short amount of time, and the earliest examples have different styles and characteristics. It is not known why Greek artists created the kouros and from where they derived its form. Scholars have proposed ideas that fall into two schools of thought.

One theory states the kouros developed from the Greek tradition of sculpture. The features of kouroi are either derived from previous forms of Greek statuary or are new characteristics created by Greek artists. The second hypothesis holds that foreign sculptural traditions provided models for the kouros. Archaeologists adhering to this idea think the Near East or Egypt influenced the features of the kouros.

While scholars have proposed these ideas, few have actually researched the hypotheses in depth. This document does exactly that. It identifies the defining characteristics of the kouros and analyzes both theories by comparing the characteristics of the statue to the Greek, Near Eastern, and Egyptian sculptural traditions. It also reconstructs the historical relationships between Greece and the Near East and between Greece and Egypt to establish the location and time when artists would have had the opportunity to view foreign art and possibly absorb its characteristics.

After analyzing the two theories, it becomes apparent that Greek artists gathered ideas from a variety of sources to create the kouros. Each theory by itself does not account for all of its characteristics. Evidence indicates Greek sculptors took ideas from foreign traditions and combined the ideas with features of their native tradition to create a new, uniquely Greek form of sculpture.

Greek art seems to have provided the standing pose, small scale, use of soft stone, and Deadalic features of some early kouroi. The Near Eastern culture of Lydia most likely gave Greek sculptors a new set of iron tools and carving techniques. Egypt probably influenced the walking pose, large scale, use of hard stone, body shape, treatment of musculature, canon of proportions, and function of the kouros. It is important to note that Greek artists did not adopt all of the features of foreign art, but only the characteristics that translated well into the Greek tradition. The kouros appears to have originated not only from the Greek sculptural tradition, but also from the artistic traditions of the Near East and Egypt.

CHAPTER 1
DEFINITION OF THE KOUROS TYPE

kouros (kouroi): boy, lad, son, warrior.
(Greek English Lexicon, Liddell and Scott)

In 1895, Greek archaeologist V. I. Leonardas first used the Greek word "kouros" to describe the large scale, hard stone, freestanding, nude male ancient Greek statues (Figs. 1-1, 1-2, 1-3).[1] The kouros was the dominant form of male statuary in the Archaic period, which was between around 650 and 480 BC. The kouros is a problematic form of statuary because the Greeks made the kouros for a relatively short amount of time, it lacks a direct predecessor in Greek art, and the earliest ones have different styles and forms. Archaeologists debate where Greek artists received inspiration to develop the kouros. Two major schools of thought offer explanations: internal development and foreign stimuli. The first theory states the kouros evolved from the Greek tradition of sculpture, while the second holds that art from foreign cultures, particularly the Near East and Egypt, provided models for the kouros. It is necessary to define the features of early kouroi and compare its characteristics to the different sculptural traditions to determine whether the kouros evolved from Greek sculpture, foreign traditions, or both. The following definition is largely based on Gisela Richter's research but does not strictly adhere to her ideas.

[1] Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture (Chicago: Ares, 1993), 61.

Pose

A compact sculpture, the kouros reflects a clearly established pose since its creation. The kouros stands erect in a frontal pose and its shoulders, waist, and hips are square to the front, which restricts any turning or twisting of the figure. Locked or slightly relaxed arms rest at the side of the sculptures' body and clenched fists wrapped around a roll of material touch its thighs. The kouros stands with one foot slightly advanced (usually the left) with feet parallel to one another and flat on the ground. In a profile view, the legs form an isosceles triangle, indicating the statue distributes its weight evenly on both legs, which are equal in length (Fig. 1-4).[2] But some kouroi stray from the general pose. A handful of small scale metal figurines have their arms stretched outward or raised above their heads (catalogue of kouroi numbers 8, 9, 11, 62, 63, 64). A few metal (1, 6, 63, 64, 69) and soft stone examples (70) also stand with their feet together rather than with one leg advanced. To modern day viewers kouroi appear stiff and immobile, but a contemporary Archaic audience probably viewed the kouros as an active figure. Because both legs carry an equal amount of weight, the kouros may capture a walking man.

Size and Material

Early kouroi have different sizes. A majority of the statues are colossal (2, 4, 5, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36, 42, 56) and over life-size (34, 43, 44, 45, 46, 59), but some are approximately life-size (25, 26, 32, 37, 38, 47, 52, 55, 60, 67, 68) and smaller than life-size (33, 48, 53, 54). It is important to note that sculptors made early kouroi in a variety of sizes at the same time; large scale kouroi did not precede small scale kouroi but

[2] Andrew F. Stewart, Greek Sculpture: An Exploration (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 108.

emerged simultaneously. Nevertheless as time elapsed, the kouros gradually becomes smaller in scale, shifting to life-size and slightly smaller than life-size representations by the end of the Archaic period.

Sculptors carved a majority of early kouroi in marble (2, 4-5, 15, 25-26, 28-49, 52-60, 67-68). Greece had marble sources in Eastern Greece and in Greece proper and artists preferred island marble, particularly Naxian and Parian marble.[3] The Greeks also carved early kouroi from granular soft stones such as alabaster (18, 21-24), limestone (12, 13,16, 20, 50-51), and sandstone (19). Soft stones required a different set of tools (carpentry tools) than marble and sculptors working with softer stones used the same style and technique as marble kouroi. Soft stone kouroi are smaller than marble ones and represent smaller than life-size figures. Artists working in the minor arts also created kouroi in bronze (1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 27, 61, 62, 63, 64, 69), lead (6, 66), terracotta (65, 70), and wood (3, 7).

Nudity

The kouros represents a nude figure, and long hair and a lack of facial hair indicates kouroi depicted young men in the prime of their lives. The bold, frontal walking pose also emphasized the nude quality of the kouros.

Body Shape and Treatment of Musculature

Sculptors carved the strictly frontal kouros with a four-sided block-like shape that invites the viewer to analyze the statue from four points of view: the front, back, and both sides (Figs. 1-5, 1-6, 1-7, 1-8). They also gave early kouroi a slim athletic build that emphasized a fit physique, not an overly muscular body. Artists constructed early kouroi

[3] Gisela Richter, Kouroi, (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1988), 7.

by using geometric shapes to create symmetrical, but unnaturally perfect figures. They deconstructed the body into angular shapes such as a rectangle, square, and trapezoid to represent the head and muscles in the arms, torso, and legs. Early kouroi did not represent a naturalistic portrayal of men, but archaic artists' interpretations of the male body. Sculptors indicated facial features and musculature not by soft modeling, but by incised lines and shallow relief that created abstract details. A majority of early kouroi had similar proportions and body shapes, which suggests Archaic Greek artists used a systematic method for measuring the proportions of the human body. But not all early kouroi adhere to the formulaic shape. A few have more triangular shaped features (Figs. 1-9, 1-10, 1-11, 1-12, 1-13, 1-14). After its initial creation, the kouros becomes more natural later in the Archaic period.

Execution

No literary evidence survives to describe the tools and techniques of early Greek sculptors, and the surviving pieces are the best source of evidence for Greek sculptural processes.[4] Stonemasons quarried blocks of stone using iron saws and wedges and trimmed the blocks according to artists' specifications with an iron trimming hammer and point.[5] Because stonemasons outlined the basic shape of statues, they probably understood how to measure the proportions of the male body.[6] Stonemasons shipped the sheared blocks to artists, who carved the trimmed blocks of stone at their workshops. Archaic artists probably made preliminary models and sketches, but did not use live

4 Carl Bluemel, Greek Sculptors at Work, Trans. Lydia Holland (London: Phaidon, 1955), 11-12; Stanley Casson, The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture (Hacker Art Books: New York, 1970), 66.

5 Casson, Technique, 94.

6 Richter, Kouroi, 11.

models because they had the chance to see unclothed men at the gymnasium and athletic competitions.[7] Greek artists used iron tools, such as the point, mallet, and flat and round chisels, to carve marble kouroi. They also used emery and pumice as abrasives and the square and simple drill as measuring tools. Greek sculptors sometimes carved pieces of a kouros separately (heads and arms) and attached them by drilling holes and placing metal dowels or stone tenons in the spaces.[8] Lead also helped ensure a tight bond between two joined pieces.[9] On the rare occasion, flat surfaces such as an upper and lower torso or two vertical halves were also connected with mortar and cement.[10] In order to produce a life-like figure, artists applied a reddish-brown color to the surface of marble and soft stone kouroi to imitate human skin.[11] Artists added body details with red, blue, yellow, black, brown, and green paint.[12]

Function

Archaeologists originally believed kouroi represented Apollo because Greek artists depicted the god as a youthful, beardless man. But find spots and inscriptions indicate kouroi did not represent cult statues of Apollo or any other male deity.[13] Scholars have also suggested that kouroi are warriors, heroes, family ancestors, victors in athletic games, the aristocracy, or provide homosexual titillation, but the theories lack written

[7] Richter, Kouroi, 11.

[8] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 46.

[9] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 46.

[10] Shelia Adam, The Technique of Greek Sculpture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), 81.

[11] Robert Manuel Cook, Greek Sculpture: Its Development, Character and Influence (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1972), 93.

[12] Cook, Greek Art, 93.

[13] Richter, Kouroi, 1-2.

evidence and a specific context to corroborate the possible meanings.[14] A majority of kouroi functioned either as votive offerings or as grave markers.

Even though the kouros was not a cult statue, it still maintained a religious role outside of the temple as a votive offering to honor the gods (5, 10, 14, 28, 31, 40, 42, 43, 49, 50, 54, 55, 57, 58, 61, 66).[15] The ancient Greeks commissioned votive kouroi to thank a deity for favors and for answering prayers. Private citizens (men and women) and groups dedicated kouroi and placed the statues in religious precincts of both male and female deities.[16] Archaeologists found kouroi in the sanctuaries of Apollo, Poseidon, Hera, Athena, and Artemis.[17] When a kouros functioned as a funerary statue, it was placed over the burial site of a man and only one statue marked a tomb (32, 38, 45, 46, 51). The statue did not represent the deceased or capture his physical likeness, but offered a remembrance of the man.[18] Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway suggests that the kouros also served a dual function in a funerary context: not only did the sculpture commemorate the life of the deceased, but it also symbolized Apollo as the protector of the dead.[19] Kouroi were not pieces of art in the modern sense, but fulfilled practical functions in Greek society.

[14] Stewart, Greek Sculpture, 110.

[15] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 43.

[16] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 66; E. Homann-Wedeking, Art of Archaic Greece (New York: Crown Publishers, 1966), 66.

[17] John Boardman, Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period: A Handbook, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 22.

[18] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 68.

[19] Archaic Style, 74.

Provenances

The distribution of kouroi is uneven.[20] The kouros did not appear at the same moment of time in different regions of Greece; material finds indicate the kouros emerged in one region and spread to neighboring areas. The Cycladic Islands, specifically Thera, Delos, Naxos, and Paros, and Ionian Samos first created and experimented with the type, which later spread to mainland Greece and lastly to the peripheral regions of Greece (Fig. 1-15). The size and material of kouroi also vary in different parts of Greece. Only Eastern Greece and Attica created colossal figures and Attica and Northern Greece made slightly larger than life-size kouroi. Attica, Boeotia, Northern Greece, and the Peloponessus carved life-size statues and Asia Minor, Attica, and Boeotia sculpted smaller than life-size figures. Attica had the widest variety of sizes. As the kouros spread, the size decreased and the range of materials used to carve kouroi increased. The earliest kouroi were carved from marble. Only marble kouroi survived from Attica. Asia Minor, Rhodes, and Egypt created soft stone kouroi, with the one exception of Boeotia in Greece proper. Eastern Greece, mainland Greece, and Magna Graecia also used terracotta and metal.

The location of the kouros could affect also its purpose. While Athens usually used the kouros in a funerary context, Boeotia utilized the kouros as a votive offering and the Aegean basin made statues for both purposes.[21] Each region of Greece did not produce the same number of kouroi; the Greeks in Boeotia, Attica, and the Aegean heavily

[20] Richter, Kouroi, 1.

[21] Stewart, Greek Sculpture, 109.

favored the type, but Western Greece, the Peloponessus, and Crete produced few pieces.[22]

Variations

According to the strict definition of a kouros, the statue has no attributes or individualizing characteristics. But some kouroi do have extra features such as a hair fillet (2, 12, 29, 35, 38-40, 44, 45-47, 50, 52, 54, 59, 62, 68) or belt (3, 26-27, 36, 63-64, 66). The Delphi statues depicting Kleobis and Biton (59) wear boots, several statuettes wear hats or helmets (63, 66, 69), and one example also wore a chiton (3). Hollow sockets in the hands of a few kouroi indicate the statues held cylindrical objects, possibly a bow.[23] Some kouroi have inscriptions (13, 28, 31, 51, 59, 67), and one statue had three animals, a ram, lion, and Gorgon head, carved on its base (31).

Artists also created two sub-categories of the kouros type: offering-bearers and draped figures. The sub-categories borrowed the general characteristics of the kouros type, but incorporated an offering or drapery. Asia Minor and the Aegean created offering-bearers (2, 37) and only one example comes from mainland Greece in Attica (49).[24] The figures carried an offering, usually an animal or a small object, and it is unknown whether the statues represented a human giving an offering to a deity or a deity accepting one.[25] Asia Minor and the Aegean carved draped kouroi with the exceptions of

[22] Stewart, Greek Sculpture, 109.

[23] Stewart, Greek Sculpture, 109.

[24] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 89.

[25] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 90.

a few from Athens and one from Syracuse.[26] A majority wear two types of garments, a chiton underneath a mantle, which draped from left to right across the figures body leaving the left side exposed.[27] Two figures in relief sculpture also adopted the kouros pose (51, 70).

Motivation for creation

Archaeologists believe the Greeks did not produce the kouros from a desire to create a cult image.[28] But Ridgway thinks the creation of the kouros is directly linked with the cult of Apollo.[29] Eastern Greece adopted the cult of Apollo from the Near East and the Greek islands, closely located to the area where the Greeks adopted the eastern cult, created the earliest kouroi.[30] Artists needed a new sculptural form to represent their new cult of Apollo, which resulted in the kouros.[31] Ridgway believes Eastern Greek artists created the kouros to represent the new deity and that the characteristics of kouroi are indicative of a divine being. [32] But Ridgway's theory implies that artists established the kouros solely as a means to depict Apollo. The hypothesis fails to explain the votive and funerary functions of the kouros, its features not found in earlier Greek sculpture, and the short duration of the type. It is more likely that Greek artists were interested in

[26] Barbara A. Barletta, "The Draped Kouros Type and the Workshop of the Syracuse Youth," American Journal of Archaeology 91.2 (1987), 233. See Barletta's Appendix (pg. 244-246) for a complete list of draped kouroi.

[27] Barletta, "Draped Kouros," 235.

[28] Robert Manuel Cook, "Origins of Greek Sculpture," Journal of Hellenic Studies 87 (1967), 30-31.

[29] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 30.

[30] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 30.

[31] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 30.

[32] Archaic Style, 30.

exploring new artistic ideas and perhaps the origins of the kouros' features will account for why Greek artists created the type.

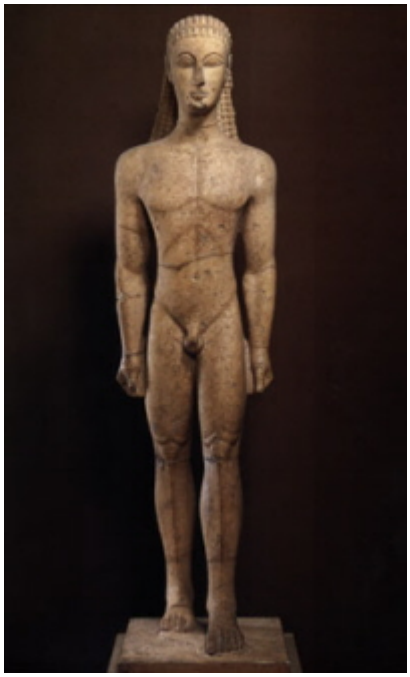


Figure 1-1. Front view of New York kouros, 600-580 BC, Naxian marble, 1.843 m, from Attica. (Source: http://www.kzu.ch/fach/as/material/kg_gr/plastik/pl01.htm, Last accessed May 1, 2005).



Figure 1-2. Kleobis (B) and Biton (A), 580 BC, marble, island marble, A=2.16 m, B=2.18 m, from Delphi. (Source: http://www.archeologia.wsh.edu.pl/skrypty/Ancient%20Greece/grecjarzym/0058.jpg, Last accessed May1, 2005).



Figure 1-3. Anavysos kouros, 530 BC, Parian marble, 1.94 m, from Anavysos, Attica. (Source: http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/Images/109images/greek_archaic_classical/sculpture/kouros_kroisos.jpg, Last accessed May1, 2005).



Figure 1-4. Right side view of New York kouros, 600-580 BC, Naxian marble, 1.843 m, from Attica. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 27).

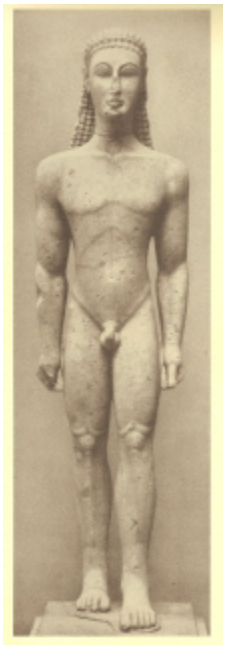


Figure 1-5. Front view of New York kouros, 600-580 BC, Naxian marble, 1.843 m, from Attica. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 25)



Figure 1-6. Left side view of New York kouros, 600-580 BC, Naxian marble, 1.843 m, from Attica. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 26).

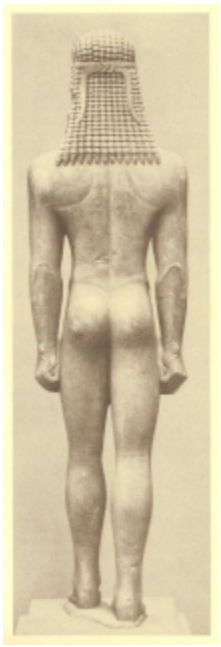


Figure 1-7. Back view of New York kouros, 600-580 BC, Naxian marble, 1.843 m, from Attica. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 28).



Figure 1-8. Right side view of New York kouros, 600-580 BC, Naxian marble, 1.843 m, from Attica. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 27).

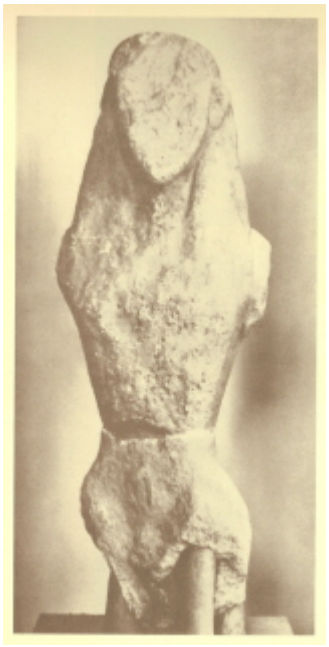


Figure 1-9. Kouros, 615-590 BC, Naxian marble, 47 cm, from Thera. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 97).



Figure 1-10. Kouros, 615-590 BC, Naxian marble, 47 cm, from Thera. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 99).



Figure 1-11. Kouros, marble, 1.03 m, from Thera. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 100).

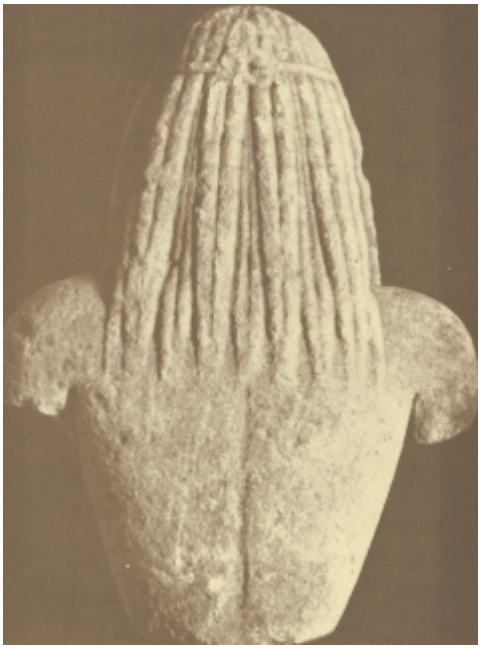


Figure 1-12. Kouros, marble, 1.03 m, from Thera. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 102).

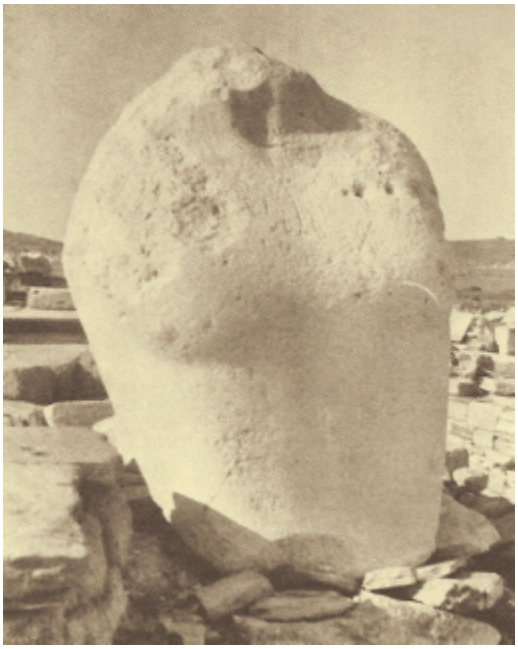


Figure 1-13. Kouros, Naxian marble, from Temenos of Apollo, Delos. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 87).

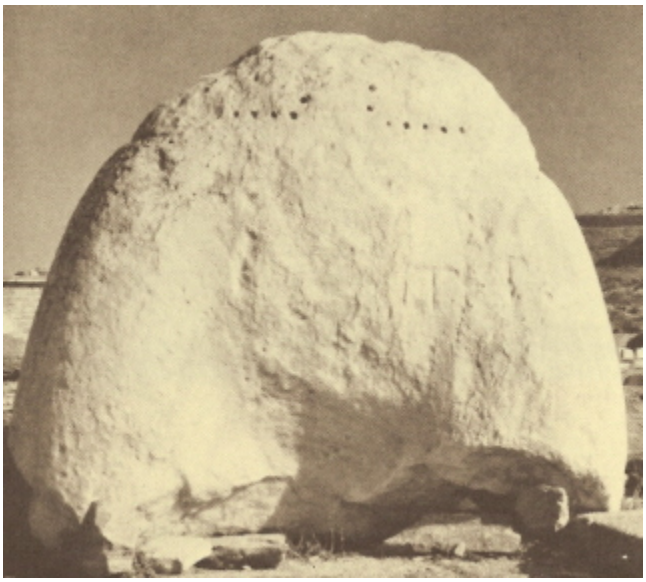


Figure 1-14. Kouros, Naxian marble, from Temenos of Apollo, Delos. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 89).



Figure 1-15. Map of Ancient Greek world. (Source: http://www.metmuseum.org/explore/Greek/map_new50.JPG, Last accessed May1, 2005).

CHAPTER 2
INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT IN GREEK ART

According to one school of thought, the kouros evolved from the Greek tradition of sculpture. The theory states that Greek artists did not receive ideas from foreign cultures. The characteristics of kouroi are either found in previous forms of Greek sculpture or are new features created by Greek artists.

Interest in the Human Body

One idea explaining the internal development of kouroi states that artists received inspiration from the athletic male body to create the form of the kouros. During the Archaic period, the Greeks did not dissect human bodies.[1] They learned about the anatomy, the structure, and the inner workings of the body by directly observing people in motion.[2] Sculptors had the opportunity to view unclothed men at the gymnasium and athletic festivals.[3] Artists utilized the data stored in their minds about the human body and created a generic but idealized kouros without the aid of a living model.[4] According to this proposal, artists were interested in the nude male form and created kouroi to represent immortal images of the archetypal Greek man.[5] While early kouroi depict stylized interpretations of the male body, later kouroi are more naturalistic.

[1] Gisela Richter, Kouroi (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1988), 11.

[2] Richter, Kouroi 11.

[3] Richter, Kouroi 11.

[4] Richter, Kouroi 11.

[5] Robert Manuel Cook, Greek Art: Its Development, Character and Influence (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1973), 94.

Influence of Greek Armor

There is also a striking similarity between the anatomy of the kouros and the shape of Greek armor, and John Fawcett Kenfield believes Greek armor influenced the shape and musculature of the kouros.[6] Metal smiths had made pieces of armor since the early Geometric period, and during the first half of the seventh century BC, major city-states adopted hoplite tactics and equipment.[7] The most popular pieces of equipment were the bell corselet and greave (Figs. 2-1, 2-2, 2-3, 2-4, 2-5).[8] Corselets and greaves were produced in the thousands throughout the Greek world.[9] The armor probably represented the most frequently viewed representations of a nude man.[10] Following the contour of the male body, the armor emphasized musculature and anatomical details. In order to fit the body accurately, armor makers probably created the pieces by hammering out the metal according to defined measurements of the male body.[11]

Kenfield argues that artists borrowed the most readily available representation of male anatomy, armor, and transferred the proportions and features of the armor to statues of men.[12] The technique of hammering armor is similar to the sphyrelaton technique of sculpture, which suggests artists adopted the technique of hammering armor to create

[6] John Fawcett Kenfield III, "The Sculptural Significance of Early Greek Armor," Opuscula Romana 9 (1973), 151.

[7] Kenfield, "Significance," 149.

[8] Roland Hampe and Erika Simon, The Birth of Greek Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 255.

[9] Kenfield, "Significance," 149.

[10] Kenfield, "Significance," 152.

[11] Hampe and Simon, Birth, 255.

[12] Kenfield, "Significance," 156.

sculpture by hammering metal around a wooden core (Fig. 2-6). Not only did sculptors adopt the techniques of armor makers, but they also copied body shape and anatomy or armor, which influenced the form of the kouros. Kenfield believes that armor makers may have carved early kouroi and Roland Hampe and Erika Simon think armor makers were the forerunners to kouros sculptors.[13] Either way, it appears that early Greek armor may have had an impact on the shape, the treatment of musculature, the proportions, and nudity of the kouros.

Aniconic Statuary

It is also possible that the kouros evolved from the Greek tradition of aniconic statuary. The earliest type of Greek sculpture is referred to as xoanon (xoana). Since no xoana survive, archaeologists rely solely on written records for information about them.[14] Of the ancient authors, Pausanius described xoana the most and a majority of authors stated that xoana represented wooden aniconic cult images.[15] Even though not all of the literary resources referred to xoana as representations of deities, they do appear to have a strong religious connotation.[16] A. A. Donahue points out that modern day scholars often place too much emphasis on written documents as archaeological evidence for xoana without taking into account the background of ancient authors and their historical context.[17] Descriptions of xoana do vary and it is possible that they did not even exist.[18]

[13] Kenfield, "Significance," 156; Hampe and Simon, Birth, 255.

[14] A. A. Donahue, *Xoana* and the Origins of Greek Sculpture (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 1.

[15] Donahue, *Xoana*, 4.

[16] Donahue, *Xoana*, 4. For a complete list of ancient authors who refer to xoanon, please refer to Donahue's Appendix I Testimonia and her additional list on pg. 172.

[17] *Xoana*, 8.

But the written documents do suggest a long tradition of sculpture in Greek art that would foster growth and experimentation. The sources also propose a progression of materials used by Greek artists.[19] The written accounts imply that artists created sculpture in wood first because it was easy to acquire and manipulate, and then they made statues in metal, ivory, terracotta, soft stone, and finally hard stone.[20] While a progression of materials follows a logical argument, there is no evidence that clearly shows whether Greek artists made sculpture from wood before other materials.

Xoana might also help explain the function of kouroi as votive offerings or as possible representations of Apollo. According to ancient testimony, xoana originated from religious practices of worshipping aniconic objects, and because kouroi have religious functions, the religious context may have evolved from xoana.[21] It is difficult to assess the influence of xoana on the Archaic kouros, and because no examples exist and the only source of information comes from ancient literary passages.

The Orientalizing Period and Daedalic Style

The strongest argument for the Greek development of the kouros is that the kouros' characteristics evolved from the Daedalic style of the Orientalizing period. After the isolation and poverty of the Dark Ages, Greece resumed contact with the Near East. The new relationship fostered an exchange of artistic ideas that led to the Greek Orientalizing

[18] *Xoana*, 8.

[19] Donahue, *Xoana*, 208.

[20] Donahue, *Xoana*, 208

[21] Donahue, *Xoana*, 7.

period and the Daedalic style.[22] Phoenician merchants initially played an important role in the transmission of eastern ideas to Greece, acting as intermediaries between the east and west. Later, Syrians and Phoenicians migrated west when Assyria conquered the Levant in the ninth century BC. They settled at Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, Thasos, Samos, Thera, and Anaphe.[23] The transplanted easterners included artists, who quickly established art workshops and they continued working in their native styles.[24] The workshops specialized in metalworking and terracotta plaques and figurines. The Syrian and Phoenician terracotta works inspired Greek artists, who adopted and adapted their forms and styles, thereby creating the Daedalic style (Figs. 2-7, 2-8).[25]

The Near East had a long tradition of creating clay plaques and figurines since the end of the twelfth and beginning of the eleventh centuries BC.[26] Artists created pieces using three general methods: hand modeled, thrown on a potter's wheel, or from a mold.[27] The small pieces depicted female figures standing with their feet together, either clothed or nude, and artists painted the cylindrically shaped pieces with red and black

[22] Evelyn Harrison, "Sculpture in Stone," The Human Figure in Early Greek Art, Ed. Jane Sweeney, Tam Curry, and Yannis Tzedakis (Athens: Greek Ministry of Culture, 1987), 50.

[23] Sarah P. Morris, Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 136-137; Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture (Chicago: Ares, 1993), 25. Syria and Phoenicia had previously visited these sights for the purpose of trading. The islands were rich with metal resources, a highly prized commodity in the Near East. The Syrians and Phoenicians probably chose to settle at the islands because they had already established relationships with the sites.

[24] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 25.

[25] Robert Manuel Cook, "Origins of Greek Sculpture," Journal of Hellenic Studies 87 (1963), 29.

[26] Anna Maria Bisi, "Terracotta Figurines," The Phoenicians, Ed. Sabatino Moscati (Milan: Gruppo Editorale Fabbri Bampiani, 1988), 328.

[27] Bisi, "Terracotta," 328.

paint.[28] The Greeks adopted the Near Eastern standing, clothed female figure and the tools and techniques used to make the terracotta figurines. They refined the processes to create Greek terracotta plaques and figurines in the Daedalic style.[29] Greek artists soon applied the female form and daedalic style to sculptures in wood, ivory, and bronze. They also experimented by carving Daedalic statues out of soft, granular limestone, which became the preferred material for the Daedalic style (Figs. 2-9, 2-10, 2-11, 2-12). Soft stones required only carpentry tools and artists skilled in woodworking could take advantage of applying the new style and female type to stone.[30] They also made small scale figurines from marble and increased the size of sculpture to create large-scale figures in wood, limestone, and marble.

The slightly larger than life-size Nikandre statue represents the earliest large-scale marble statue depicting a clothed, standing female figure in the Daedalic style (Figs. 2-13, 2-14, 2-15). Nikandre is considered to be an Archaic figure, but she was produced in the Daedalic style. The sculpture reveals that artists created large-scale marble sculptures in the Daedalic style and it is possible that artists also applied the Daedalic style and standing pose to statues of men to create the kouros. But to date, no male Daedalic figures survive from the Orientalizing period, which would show an established tradition for male Daedalic figures before the Archaic period. Nevertheless, a lack of male Daedalic figures does not mean they did not exist. The earliest examples of kouroi are from the Cycladic Islands and Samos, which is where Near Eastern artists migrated,

[28] Bisi, "Terracotta," 328.

[29] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 26.

[30] Ridgway, Archaic Style, 26.

established art workshops, and influenced the creation of the Daedalic style.[31] The Daedalic style could explain why these kouroi wear belts and have triangular body shapes and features.

Summary

Even though Greek artists may have had an affinity for the heroic nude male body, their interest in the male form had little impact on the creation of the kouros. The characteristic of nudity was not a new feature in Greek sculpture, as Greek artists had already made representations of unclothed men. The idea also offers no underlying motivating factor for why Greek society needed a new type of statue representing men. The influence of Greek armor also provides little insight into why artists created a new type of statuary, but armor could have influenced the body shape, treatment of musculature, proportions, and nudity of early kouroi. There is no direct evidence connecting the evolution of the kouros from the aniconic xoana. The ancient literary sources place xoana at the beginning of the Greek sculptural tradition, but the aniconic wooden cult images have little if any parallels to kouroi other than a religious connotation. The argument that kouroi originated from the Orientalizing Daedalic style is based on stylistic similarities. It is possible that the kouros reflects the Deadalic frontal facing standing figure and that some of the earliest examples have Daedalic body shapes and belts. Early kouroi and the Daedalic style have too many differences to conclude the kouros developed from the Orientalizing style, but it appears that some characteristics of the Deadalic style linger in the earliest Archaic kouroi. The ideas promoting the independent evolution of the kouros emphasize form, but do not explain all the features

[31] Cook, "Origins," 29; Ridgway, Archaic Style, 25.

of the kouros and do not provide information about the role of kouroi in Greek society. Some features of the kouros did not originate from the Greek tradition of art and archaeologists turn to foreign traditions, specifically the Near East and Egypt, for evidence of foreign influence.



Figure 2-1. Plastron of a late geometric bell-corselet, from Argos. (Kenfield, “The Sculptural Significance of Early Greek Armor,” fig. 1).



Figure 2-2. Dos of a late geometric bell-corselet, from Argos. (Kenfield, “The Sculptural Significance of Early Greek Armor,” fig. 3).

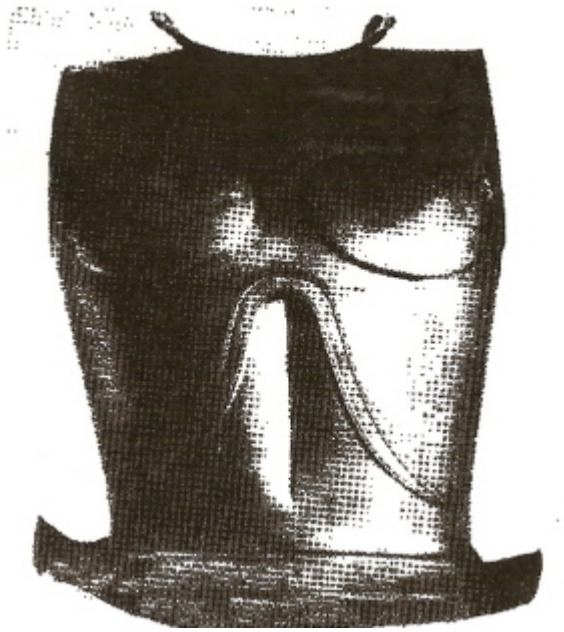


Figure 2-3. Plastron of a bell-corselet, sixth century, from Olympia. (Kenfield, "The Sculptural Significance of Early Greek Armor," fig. 7).

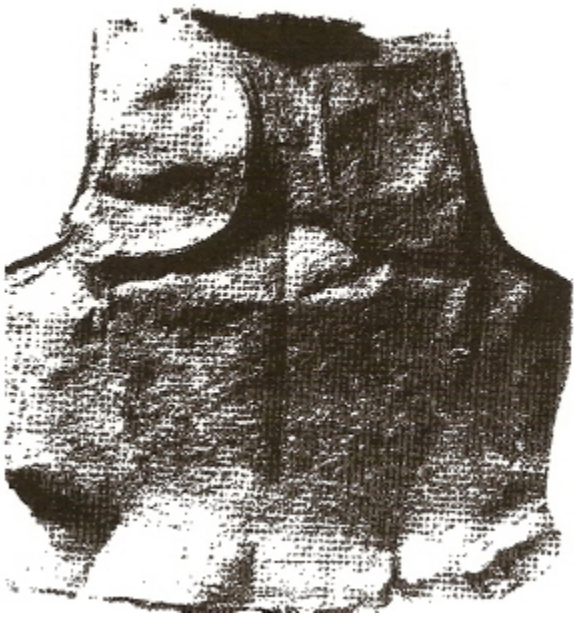


Figure 2-4. Dos of an early bell-corselet, from Olympia. (Kenfield, "The Sculptural Significance of Early Greek Armor," fig. 6).

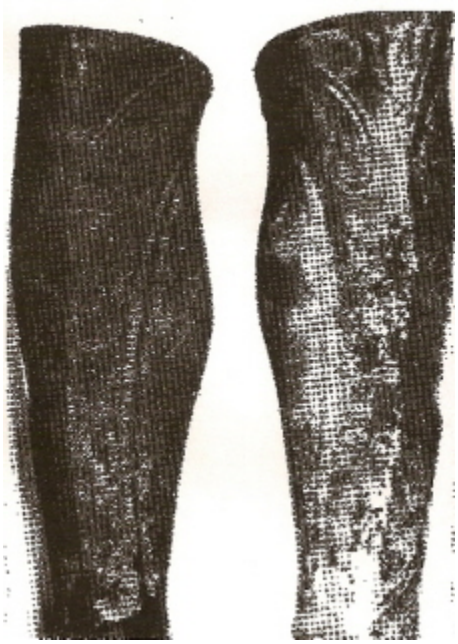


Figure 2-5. Greaves, early seventh century, from Achaea. (Kenfield, "The Sculptural Significance of Early Greek Armor," fig. 15).



Figure 2-6. Apollo, c. 700 BC, bronze (sphyrelaton), 31.5cm, from Dreros, Crete. (Source: http://www.hartzler.org/cc307/geometric/images/035.jpg, Last accessed May 1, 2005).



Figure 2-7. Syrian relief plaque of Astarte, 7th century BC, terracotta, from Corinth. (Boardman, The Greeks Overseas, fig. 72).



Figure 2-8. Relief plaque of woman, 7th century BC, terracotta, from Crete. (Boardman, The Greeks Overseas, fig. 74).



Figure 2-9. Front view of Lady of Auxerre, 640-630 BC, limestone, 65 cm (with base 75 cm). (Richter, Korai, fig. 79).



Figure 2-10. Left side view of Lady of Auxerre, 640-630 BC, limestone, 65 cm (with base 75 cm). (Richter, Korai, fig. 78).



Figure 2-11. Back view of Lady of Auxerre, 640-630 BC, limestone, 65 cm (with base 75 cm). (Richter, Korai, fig. 76).



Figure 2-12. Right side view of Lady of Auxerre, 640-630 BC, limestone, 65 cm (with base 75 cm). (Richter, Korai, fig. 77).



Figure 2-13. Right side view of Nikandre, c. 650 BC, marble (Naxian), 1.5 m, from the Sanctuary of Artemis, Delos. (Richter, Korai, fig. 25).



Figure 2-14. Front view of Nikandre, c. 650 BC, marble (Naxian), 1.5 m, from the Sanctuary of Artemis, Delos. (Richter, Korai, fig. 26).



Figure 2-15. Left side view of Nikandre, c. 650 BC, marble (Naxian), 1.5 m (with base 2.0 m), from the Sanctuary of Artemis, Delos. (Richter, Korai, fig. 27).

CHAPTER 3
NEAR EASTERN INFLUENCE

It is important to examine the statuary of Near Eastern cultures contemporaneous to archaic Greece to determine if Greek artists borrowed sculptural ideas from the Near East. Assyria, Syria, Lydia, and Phoenicia were the cultures with the strongest artistic traditions before and during the emergence of the kouros type (Fig. 3-1). An analysis of their sculptural traditions will reveal whether Greek sculptors copied features of foreign art to create the kouros type. It also important to reconstruct the relationship between Greece and the Near East to establish when and where Greece had the opportunity to view and adopt the characteristics of Near Eastern sculpture.

Part One: Near Eastern Origin of the Kouros

Assyria

The dominant political power in the Near East, Assyria was the only culture with a strong sculptural tradition in the area and therefore had the most potential for influencing the creation of the kouros. While a large amount of Assyrian relief sculpture has survived, few pieces freestanding have. This is probably because Assyrians rarely made round sculpture and because the Babylonians and the Medes also purposely destroyed Assyrian statues when they conquered the Assyrian Empire in 612 BC.[1] Of the few remaining freestanding pieces, the royal statues of Assurnasirpal II (883-858 BC), two of his son Shalmaneser III (858-823 BC) (one standing and one sitting), and an unknown

[1] Leonard Woolley, The Art of the Middle East (New York: Crown Publishers, 1961), 180.

king, as well as statues of the Nabu deities, box carriers, and a caryatid are the best preserved pieces (Figs. 3-2, 3-3, 3-4, 3-5, 3-6, 3-7, 3-8, 3-9, 3-10, 3-11).[2]

The most striking similarity between the Assyrian statues and the kouros is the pose. With the one exception of a seated statue of Shalmaneser III, the Assyrian statues depict a frontal facing male figure in a standing pose like the Greek kouros. But a few differences appear in the two traditions. The Assyrian pieces stand with their feet together, not separated like the kouros, and show no indication of movement. While some of the Assyrians statues have their arms resting at their sides, others hold objects across their abdomen or clasp their hands in front of their chest. The arms of Greek kouroi typically lie at their sides and do not usually carry objects. The Greeks probably did not borrow the stiff, inanimate pose of the Assyrian figures, and the shared frontal view does not provide enough evidence that Greek artists adopted an Assyrian pose.

Another point in the argument for the Near Eastern origin of the kouros is the use of hard stone. Assyria had a natural supply of easy-to-cut soft stones such as alabaster (also called Mosul marble) and limestone.[3] Artists also imported harder stones such as basalt, but they preferred to work with their native soft stones.[4] Sculptors carved all the discussed examples of Assyrian sculpture from either limestone or alabaster except for the seated statue of Shalmaneser III, which is made of basalt. Their indigenous soft stones proved easy to work with and stonemasons quarried the stone with picks and

[2] Andre Parrot, The Arts of Assyria (New York: Golden Press, 1961), 15-16; Julian Reade, Assyrian Sculpture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 23, 44.

[3] Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, A History of Art in Chaldaea and Assyria, Ed. Charles Armstrong, Trans. Walter Armstrong (London: Chapman Hall, 1884), 109.

[4] Reade, Assyrian, 25.

saws.[5] Quarrymen trimmed the blocks according to artists' specifications at the quarry site to reduce the weight of the block.[6] Artists completed the sculpture with nothing more than carpentry tools at the final location of the statue.[7] Shalmaneser III's seated statue reveals that the Assyrians had the ability to work with harder stone, but favored their native softer materials. Even though the Greeks created kouroi from soft stones such as limestone, alabaster, and sandstone, the majority of the statues were marble, especially the earliest examples. Greek artists probably did not acquire the tools and techniques necessary for working with hard stone from an Assyrian tradition favoring soft stone sculpture. The Assyrians also had a long tradition of accenting their sculpture with black, white, blue, and red paint.[8] Greek artists also embellished kouroi with paint, but the similarity is superficial and does not provide evidence that Greece borrowed Assyrian sculptural ideas.

Large scale is an important characteristic of early kouroi, which makes a comparison between the size of early kouroi and the Assyrian round pieces an important point in the argument for Near Eastern inspiration. The Assyrian statues depict smaller than life-size representations of the human form. But despite the preference for small-scale figures, it appears Assyrian artists did have the ability to create large scale works in stone. Guardian gateway figures, or lamassu, were colossal and archaeologists also discovered a colossal female head of the goddess Ishtar (Figs. 3-12, 3-13).[9] But the few

[5] Reade, Assyrian, 26.

[6] Reade, Assyrian, 26.

[7] Reade, Assyrian, 26.

[8] Perrot and Chipiez, History Assyria, 247.

[9] Parrot, Assyria, 126; Perrot and Chipiez, History Assyria, 208.

existing examples of Assyrian freestanding sculpture show the accepted norm for representing the human form was smaller than life-size.[10] While some kouroi represent smaller than life-size figures, the earliest ones are life-size and colossal, which strongly indicates that the kouros did not receive the characteristic of large-scale from Assyria.

The body shape and treatment of musculature in Assyrian statuary and Greek kouroi is another factor in determining if Greek artists adopted eastern forms. Assyrian freestanding sculpture continued the Mesopotamian tradition of creating the human body with round shapes, specifically the cylinder, oval, and sphere.[11] Greek kouroi also break down the human body into basic shapes, but use rectangles, squares, and trapezoids. While the kouros was meant to be viewed from four points of view, Assyrian sculpture was meant to be seen only from a frontal standpoint. Because the Greek kouros depicts a nude figure, artists took care to recreate human anatomy as closely as possible. Assyrian artists paid little attention to depicting the muscles and underlying structure of the human body realistically because Assyrian freestanding sculpture was a draped tradition.[12] Assyrian artists hid their short and stocky figures underneath long layers of clothing.[13] While Assyrian freestanding sculpture did not depict nude figures, its relief panels did show nude men, but the figures represent unimportant or subservient characters such as soldiers, captives, or slaves (Figs. 3-14, 3-15).[14] Even though the men appear unclothed,

[10] Parrot, Assyria, 126.

[11] Parrot, Assyria, 16, 20; Perrot and Chipiez, History Assyria, 282.

[12] Perrot and Chipiez, History Assyria, 135.

[13] Parrot, Assyria, 16; Eva Strommenger, 5000 Years of Art in Mesopotamia (New York: Harry A. Abrams, 1964), 44; Woolley, Middle East, 180.

[14] Perrot and Chipiez, History Assyria, 287.

relief artists made little effort to define the musculature and alluded to anatomical details with incised lines. One of the distinctive characteristics of the Greek kouros is nudity, which did not symbolize a low position in society.

While Greece apparently did not adopt the material, tools, carving techniques, body shape, treatment of musculature, or clothed tradition of Assyrian sculpture, nevertheless the two traditions share an interest in creating an idealized figure. Kouroi did not represent specific individuals, and Assyrian sculptures did, but the pieces are not true portraits.[15] The Near Eastern works symbolize the Assyrian ideal man just as Greek kouroi seem to represent the archetypal male body.[16] Instead of depicting their patron's likeness, Assyrian artists carved the ideal of manly beauty with symmetrical facial and body features.[17] Early kouroi also display an interest in the universal, ideal male form, but the similarity is probably coincidental and does not provide concrete proof Assyrian sculpture influenced the kouros.

In Assyria, the king commissioned art for his benefit, and archaeologists found pieces of sculpture in royal buildings or royal settings such as palaces, public buildings, temples, or public squares.[18] The Assyrian statues served several functions such as memorials to the ruling king, votive offerings, containers for offerings to deities, cult statues of a deity, or as atlas figures.[19] The royal statues asserted the king's authority, and votive offerings were placed in temples to stand in place of the patron, continuously

[15] Perrot and Chipiez, History Assyria, 139.

[16] Parrot, Assyria, 14.

[17] Parrot, Assyria, 14.

[18] Strommenger, 5000 Years, 42; Woolley, Middle East, 185.

[19] Parrot, Assyria, 16, 22; Reade, Assyrian, 23.

praying and paying homage to the deity.[20] Assyrians placed the box carriers in temples, which provided a container for offerings to the gods. Caryatids provided structural support to the buildings.[21] The only function Greek kouroi and Assyrian round sculpture share is the caryatid and the votive offering, but the exact meaning of the votive statue varied slightly. The Greeks commissioned votive statuary to thank the gods for favors and for answering prayers. It is possible Greek artists copied the idea of a votive figure and altered its function to adapt to the needs of Greek society. But the argument is weakened by the fact that Greek artists did not borrow all of the functions of Assyrian sculpture.

Archaeological evidence shows a few parallels between the kouros and Assyrian freestanding sculpture, such as a frontal standing figure, soft stone, idealization, and the functions of a votive offering and an atlas figure. But the differences outweigh the similarities and it is unlikely Greek artists would borrow sculptural ideas from a culture that rarely made freestanding sculpture. It does not appear that the Greeks adopted the walking pose, large-scale, the use of hard stone, nudity, the body shape, the treatment of musculature, or the funerary function of the kouros from Assyria. The physical evidence does not provide a strong enough case to state Greek sculptors adopted and adapted Assyrian forms, styles, and techniques.

Syria

Syria did not have a native sculptural tradition and remained in the shadow of Assyrian art. Syria had access to land trade routes between the Levant and Anatolia into

[20] Reade, Assyrian, 23.

[21] Reade, Assyrian, 23.

Eastern Greece and sea trade routes via north Syrian ports on the Mediterranean. But the political powerhouse of Assyria became interested in its neighbor and continuously battled with the Aramaeans for control over Syria and its trade routes.[22] With time, Assyria conquered Syria, and Syrian vassal princes commissioned works of art imitating Assyrian art to emulate the power of their masters.[23] They copied the sculptural forms of lamassu, stelae, rock-cut sculptures, carved orthostats, royal statues, and caryatids, and they used the sculptural pieces to adorn buildings in the Syrian palace complex. The Syrians also produced funerary statues, which has no Assyrian counterpart and appears to be a native Syrian idea.[24]

Like Assyria, Syria did not create a large number of freestanding sculptural pieces.[25] They chose to exploit relief sculpture and a majority of their surviving sculptural pieces are works carved in relief.[26] The few examples of Syrian round sculpture lack the same defining characteristics of the kouros that their Assyrian models do not have. Even though both Greece and Syria created funerary statues, it seems unlikely that Greece would adopt the function of a statue whose art tradition was heavily influenced by Assyria. Therefore, Syrian sculpture probably did not influence the features of the kouros.

[22] Pierre Amiet, Art of the Ancient Near East (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1980), 26.

[23] Henri Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 281.

[24] Jeanny Vorys Canby, "Guzana (Tell Halaf)," Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria, Ed. Harvey Weiss (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1985), 332.

[25] Frankfort, Art Orient, 290.

[26] Frankfort, Art Orient, 307.

Lydia

Lydia did have a sculptural tradition, but the pieces are categorized as Eastern Greek sculpture, which actually provided the framework for the development of Lydian stone sculpture.[27] Since Lydian sculpture was linked to Greece, Lydia did not influence the kouros. In fact the opposite is true; Greece inspired Lydian sculpture.[28] But before Lydia began making stone sculpture under Greek influence, they had already established a native tradition of both soft and hard stone architecture, which probably did have an impact on Archaic Greek art. It appears that Greek artists acquired the tools and stone-cutting techniques necessary for working with hard stone from Lydia.

The best surviving examples of Lydian stone masonry are funerary monuments, particularly the tumulus inhumation tombs in the necropolis of Bin Tepe ("a thousand mounds") (Fig. 3-16).[29] The necropolis contains approximately ninety tombs and archaeologists have only excavated about twenty, fourteen of which had burial chambers, and two had cist graves.[30] Circular in shape, the tombs had retaining walls on the ground either cut into the local limestone bedrock or constructed with masonry directly on top of the ground.[31] Architects topped the walls with alternating layers of earth to create a gently sloping mound.[32] The tombs range in size. Their heights measure between one to

[27] John Boardman, Persia and the West (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 90.

[28] Boardman, Persia, 90.

[29] Robin U. Russin and George Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves and Cemeteries," Sardis: From Prehistoric to Roman Times, Ed. George Hanfmann and William E. Mierse (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 54.

[30] Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 54.

[31] Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 54.

[32] Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 54.

fifteen meters tall and the diameters measure from ten to forty meters wide.[33] Some tombs also had grave markers either in a phallic or bud-like shape resting at the apex of the mound.[34] The retaining walls and burial chambers of some tombs were constructed with finely dressed stone blocks, and Lydian architects preferred to build with limestone.[35] But one tomb, the tomb of Alyattes (619-560 BC), had marble masonry.[36] Lydia had access to natural marble resources at Magara Deseri, Mermere, and the Tmolus Mountain range.[37] Even though Alyattes' tomb does not predate the use of marble in Greece, archaeologists have excavated only a small number of tombs at Bin Tepe and it is possible that the necropolis has other tombs with marble masonry dating earlier than the tomb of Alyattes.

Architects built the circular foundation wall of Ayattes' tomb with limestone masonry and topped his tomb with a colossal limestone bud-shaped marker.[38] The antechamber consisted of finely dressed limestone masonry leading to a marble burial chamber (Figs. 3-17, 3-18).[39] Alyattes' tomb is the earliest known example of marble masonry in Lydia, and architects built his chamber with large blocks of finely dressed

[33] Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 54.

[34] Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 54.

[35] Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 55.

[36] Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 56.

[37] George Hanfmann, Nancy H. Ramage, and Florence E. Whitmore, "The Scope of the Work and the Character of the Material," Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975, Ed. George Hanfmann and Stephen W. Jacobs (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 4, 6; George Hanfmann and Clive Ross, "The City and its Environment," Sardis: From Prehistory to Roman Times, Ed. George Hanfmann and William E. Mierse (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 9.

[38] Boardman, Persia, 33; Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 56.

[39] John Boardman, The Greeks Overseas (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 33; Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 56.

marble (Fig. 3-19).[40] Lydia had a talent for stone cutting that matured with time. It initially used limestone in architecture and progressed to building with marble.[41] Ionian Greek artists probably witnessed Lydian masons quarrying, cutting, and using a new set of iron tools to create hard stone architecture.[42]

It seems logical that the Greeks adopted the new tools and techniques from Lydia and adapted them to create sculpture with hard stone, a defining characteristic of the kouros. After Greek artists created marble statuary, Lydia probably copied the Greek sculpture. While Lydia did not influence the form or function of the kouros, it probably gave the Greeks the skills to quarry and carve marble, which did contribute to the creation of the kouros type.

Phoenicia

Phoenicia did not have a strong stone sculptural tradition, but it played an important role in the mercantile industry of the Mediterranean. The Phoenicians established settlements in foreign lands and a vast trading network in order to obtain natural resources and raw materials for their livelihood (Figs. 3-21, 3-22).[43] Phoenicia did not expand from an interest in territorial conquest.[44] Phoenicia provided finished products for their trading partners in exchange for raw goods not present in its homeland.

[40] Russin and Hanfmann, "Lydian Graves," 56.

[41] Charles Burney, The Ancient Near East (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 201; Hanfmann, Ramage, and Whitmore, "Scope," 6.

[42] Hanfmann and Ross, "City," 10.

[43] Piero Bartoloni, "Commerce and Industry," The Phoenicians, Ed. Sabatino Moscati (Milan: Gruppo Editorale Fabbri Bampiani, 1988), 80.

[44] Bartoloni, "Commerce," 80.

The most popular exported items were fine bronze and silver bowls, furniture inlaid with ivory, dyed cloth, glasswork, tools and weapons, everyday objects (tweezers, hairpins, razors, etc.), and small scale objects and figurines.[45] Phoenician artists created small scale pieces because they were easier to transport, which resulted in portable art, not large scale, heavy stone pieces. Because Phoenicia had few natural resources, it depended on its finished products for its livelihood, and Phoenician artists became highly skilled, catering exclusively to the needs of a foreign market.[46] Phoenician art was in high demand because of its superior craftsmanship and design.[47] Because it made products for a foreign market and not for local consumption, its art shows an eclectic style with a mixture of Mesopotamian, Mycenaean-Greek, and Egyptian elements.[48] Phoenician art was not original; artists copied the forms and themes of other traditions and in turn helped spread the foreign ideas to other cultures through trade activity.[49]

The Phoenicians established commercial districts complete with art workshops in the foreign lands where they traded.[50] The largest and most successful Phoenician art workshops were at Memphis in Egypt, Corinth in Greece, Utica and Carthage in Northern Africa, Sulcis and Tharros in Sardinia, Motya off the coast of Sicily, and Cadiz, Huelva, and Sexi on the southern Iberian coast.[51] The workshops employed itinerant craftsmen

[45] Bartoloni, "Commerce," 78-79, 81.

[46] Glenn E. Markoe, Phoenicians (Berkley: University of California Press, 2000), 143.

[47] Frankfort, Art Orient, 322.

[48] Richard D. Barnett, "Phoenicia and the Ivory Trade," Archaeology 9.2 (1956), 88.

[49] Woolley, Middle East, 117.

[50] Bartoloni, "Commerce," 80.

[51] Bartoloni, "Commerce," 80.

who helped spread artistic ideas around the Mediterranean.[52] Archaeologists also found Phoenician art throughout the Mediterranean basin, which attests to the widespread trade activity of Phoenicia and the important role of its merchants.

The Phoenicians produced statuary in terracotta, bronze, and stone, but its ivory pieces probably had the greatest impact on the spread of artistic ideas. Phoenicia was renowned for its ivory objects. Spanning back to the thirteenth century BC, ivory carving was a long and well established tradition in Phoenicia, Syria, and Palestine, and the Near East had local sources of ivory.[53] Phoenician ivory objects came in a wide variety of forms, including handles for fans and mirrors, small boxes, ornamental pins, buttons, spoons, amulets, game boards, figurines, and plaques and inlays to decorate furniture.[54] Phoenicia also made the furniture that the ivory pieces decorated. [55] Archaeologists found Phoenician ivory works in western Phoenician colonies, Greece, Cyprus, the Levant, and Mesopotamia. Few ivory pieces were found in the Phoenician heartland and the richest finds are in Assyria at Nimrud and Khorsabad. [56]

Phoenician sculpture did not impact the characteristics of the kouros, but by means of trade Phoenicia brought Greece new artistic ideas in the form of small scale ivory sculpture. It is possible that Greek artists copied foreign artistic ideas into their artistic

[52] Markoe, Phoenicians, 144.

[53] Barnett, "Phoenicia Ivory," 87; Frankfort, Art Orient, 311; Woolley, Middle East, 113.

[54] Maria Louisa Uberti, "Bone and Ivory Carving," The Phoenicians, Ed. Sabatino Moscati (Milan: Gruppo Editorale Fabbri Bampiani, 1988), 404.

[55] Uberti, "Bone," 404.

[56] Frankfort, Art Orient, 312.

vocabulary by purchasing Phoenician art. The Phoenicians were strongly influenced by Egyptian art, and the kouros bears a striking resemblance to Egyptian statuary.

Part Two: Historical Argument for Near Eastern Influence

If the Greeks received inspiration from Assyria, Syria, Lydia, or Phoenicia, it is imperative to establish a location and a time frame of the artistic exchange. Greece ceased contact with its eastern neighbors after the disturbances in the Mediterranean around 1200 BC (fall of the Mycenaean palaces and Hittite Empire, possible earthquake and volcanic eruption, invasion of the Sea Peoples). But there was not a complete gap in communication; the Greeks were able to obtain Near Eastern goods via third parties, such as Cyprus and Crete, in the late first millennium BC. Parts of Eastern and mainland Greece resumed contact with the Near East around 950-900 BC, and reinvigorated trading markets led the Greeks to visit and perhaps settle on the coast of Northern Syria.[57] The Greeks were probably able to settle successfully in Syria as a result of shifting powers between the Assyrians and Syrians.[58] Historians use both literary and archaeological evidence to reconstruct the relationship between Greece and the Near East.

Literary Evidence for Greeks in the Near East

Little Greek or Near Eastern literary evidence survives that describes the Greeks in the Near East. Among Greek authors, Herodotus is the most important source for information about the Greeks in foreign lands. The royal records of Sargon II (721-705 BC) are the earliest eastern references to the Greeks. They describe Ionian Greek raids

[57] Boardman, Overseas, 38.

[58] John Nicolas Coldstream, Geometric Greece (New York: Routledge, 2003), 92.

on the Syrian and Phoenician coastlines.[59] Another Near Eastern account describes a man named "Yamani," who served as a guard for King Ashdod.[60] The name Yamani could refer to a specific individual such as a guard, but "yamani" is also the Assyrian spelling for "Ionian."[61] Literary sources also indicate that various eastern kingdoms, specifically Assyria, Syria, Cilicia, and Palestine, employed Greek mercenaries in the eighth and seventh centuries BC.[62] Ostraca from the Judean fortress Tell Arad, dating to around 640 BC, have Hebrew inscriptions that point to a Greek presence in the Near East.[63] The inscriptions are addressed to Eliashib and indicate that wine, bread, and oil must be delivered to the "Kittim," Greek mercenaries serving Judah.[64] The limited literary sources offer little help in reconstructing the Greek presence in the Near East, which forces scholars to turn to archaeological evidence. Two sites, Al Mina and Tell Sukas, have archaeological remains suggestive of a Greek population.

Archaeological Evidence for Greeks in the Near East: Al Mina

Location and history of excavations

Leonard Woolley discovered Al Mina in 1936 and excavated the site in 1936 and 1937 (Fig. 3-23).[65] The ancient town connects the Gulf of Sueidia and the Orontes River

[59] T. F. R. G. Braun, "The Greeks in the Near East," The Ancient Cambridge History, Ed. John Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 5.

[60] Boardman, Overseas, 45.

[61] Boardman, Overseas, 45.

[62] Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, "Archaic Greeks in the Orient: Textual and Archaeological Evidence," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 322 (2001), 15.

[63] Niemeier, "Archaic Greeks," 17.

[64] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 22.

[65] A. J. Graham, "The Historical Interpretation of Al Mina," Dialogue d'Historie Ancienne 12 (1986), 68; Leonard Woolley, "Al Mina: Excavations near Antioch," Antiquaries' Journal 17 (1937), 2.

on the Amk plain.[66] Al Mina also lies at the foot of Mount Kasios and was heavily wooded in ancient times. The mountain provided a natural border between the coastal settlement and cities further inland.[67] Al Mina means "the port" in Arabic and archaeologists do not know the name of the ancient city.

Woolley divided the Iron Age settlement into ten levels of occupation between 850/825 and 301 BC, but the levels are not exactly horizontal and it is difficult to interpret the strata.[68] Levels ten through seven are between 850/825-700 BC, levels six to five fall between 700-600/550 BC, levels four is 520-430 BC, level three is 430-375 BC, level two is 375-320 BC, and level one is 320 BC-301 BC.[69] Several factors impacted Woolley's ability to excavate Al Mina accurately. Modern inhabitants dug wells into the ancient remains, which contaminated the site.[70] The city lies 1.5 miles away from the present coastline and the site was and still is susceptible to flooding.[71] Silt from the Orontes River probably piled up on the Delta and forced the settlement to shift southward with time.[72] It is possible that flooding waters and silt destroyed the earliest and most northern level of the city.

[66] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 9.

[67] Woolley, "Al Mina Antioch," 2.

[68] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 9.

[69] Woolley, "Al Mina Antioch," 5-10.

[70] John Boardman, "The Excavated History of Al Mina," Ancient Greeks West and East, Ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze (Brill: Leiden, 1999), 138.

[71] Leonard Woolley, "The Excavations at Al Mina, Sueidia I," The Journal of Hellenic Studies 58.1 (1938): 26.

[72] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 7-8.

The exact founding date of the city is unknown, but archaeologists think it was around 850/825 BC because of material finds.[73] Woolley believed Al Mina was a Syrian Bronze Age Settlement, but only Iron Age materials survived.[74] During his excavations, he concluded that Al Mina was the site of ancient Posideum, but the art historical community rejected his idea in favor of modern Basit near Ras-el-Basit as the location of Posideum.[75]

Pottery and other finds

Greek pottery represents 39% of all the surveyed types of pottery found at Al Mina.[76] Archaeologists found Geometric and sub-Geometric pottery from the Cyclades and Euboea in levels ten and nine.[77] The pieces were two-handled drinking cups called skyphoi with concentric semicircle pendant decoration.[78] John Boardman believes Greeks living in the Near East used the drinking vessels.[79] According to Boardman, the large number of Euboean drinking vessels indicates the settlers established a workshop at the end of the eighth century BC to produce the cups.[80] The workshop provides strong

[73] Coldstream, Geometric, 93.

[74] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 9.

[75] Graham, "Historical Al Mina," 72-73. For more information about Posideum, please refer to the work of P. Courbin.

[76] Boardman, "Excavated Al Mina," 151.

[77] Einar Gjerstad, "The Stratification of Al Mina (Syria) and its Chronological Evidence," Acta Archaeologica 45 (1974): 116; M. R. Popham, "Al Mina and Euboea" Annals of the British School in Athens 75 (1980), 157. A study conducted on pottery from Chalcis and Lefkandi in Euboea and Al Mina confirms the Al Mina vessels were made with the same type of clay used for Chalcidian pottery, which strongly suggests the pottery originated from Euboea.

[78] John Boardman, "Greek Potters at Al Mina?" Anatolian Studies 9 (1959), 163.

[79] Boardman, "Greek Potters," 163; Graham, "Historical Al Mina," 77.

[80] "Greek Potters," 163; Graham, "Historical Al Mina," 77.

evidence that the Greeks not only visited and regularly traded with the Near East, but also created permanent settlements.[81] Level eight also had Cycladic and Euboean cups along with Cypriot pottery and Cycladic Geometric cups with Attic meander patterns.[82] Level seven had equal amounts of Geometric and sub-Geometric cups and Cypriot pottery.[83] Level six of Al Mina had more Cypriot pottery and introduced East Greek Orientalizing ware.[84] There is almost a complete lack of Cycladic and Euboean pottery in levels six and five as proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pieces begin to appear.[85] The amount of Cypriot ware tapers off in level five, and the citizens of Al Mina abandoned East Greek ware in favor of Attic red- and black-figure pottery in level four. Level three also contained Attic pottery.[86] Archaeologists found some Attic pottery in level two, but the Orontes River and local farmers destroyed level one of the ancient settlement.[87]

Greek pottery is more abundant in the earlier levels of Al Mina.[88] The pottery offers insight into the origins of the Greek settlers, but it is important to remember that pottery was a trade item that could be carried by anyone. A piece of pottery does not necessarily indicate the origins of the settlers. Even though archaeologists found Greek

[81] Graham, "Historical Al Mina," 77.

[82] Gjerstad, "Stratification Al Mina," 116.

[83] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 18.

[84] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 19.

[85] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 19; Leonard Woolley, "The Excavations of Al Mina, Sueidia II," The Journal of Hellenic Studies 58.2 (1938), 150.

[86] Boardman, Overseas, 49.

[87] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 24.

[88] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 16-20.

pottery in the strata of Al Mina, the pottery does not necessarily mean that the Greeks settled at the site.

Structures

Level ten of Al Mina had almost no structural remains, but level nine had fragments of small huts with pebble foundations on virgin soil.[89] Residents rebuilt Al Mina in level eight and level seven is a continuation of level eight.[90] Little of the levels remained intact, and archaeologists believe the structures are similar to those of later levels.[91] Architects built level six and five with a new plan, and the structural remains were warehouses with office rooms, magazines, and courtyards.[92] The warehouses were rectangular single story structures that had a row of buildings with magazines around a central courtyard.[93] The middle of the courtyard had a small clerk's office.[94] Narrow gravel roads intersecting at right angles separated the warehouses, and each intersection had a central drain covered with stone slabs.[95] Some warehouses had disconnected rooms that faced the streets and served as retail shops. The warehouses were not built in a Greek manner nor do they reflect Near Eastern buildings.[96] The ancient town contains a

[89] Coldstream, Geometric, 93; Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 16.

[90] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 16, 18.

[91] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 10.

[92] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 18.

[93] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 10.

[94] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 10.

[95] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 10.

[96] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 10.

type of architecture particular only to Al Mina.[97] While the stone foundation, mud brick plastered walls, wooden beams, and thatched reed roofs are indicative of Syrian architectural materials, the warehouse plans are not.[98]

Citizens reconstructed the town with a new plan in level four but used the same type of planned warehouses of previous levels.[99] A fire destroyed Al Mina at the end of level three and residents repaired the buildings and rebuilt some structures in level two.[100] Level one contained only fragments of walls and no indication of ground plans. Rubbish pits and loose objects in the soil mark the top layer of the city, which declined at the end of the fourth century BC.[101]

It is possible that levels ten and nine represent a Greek mercenary camp, but there is little evidence to support the theory.[102] The structures excavated at Al Mina are warehouses and none appear to have domestic or religious purposes.[103] The abundance of warehouses indicates that Al Mina probably did not represent a residential settlement.[104] The discovery of the nearby hillside town of Sabouni gives some insight into the architecture and function of Al Mina. Located three miles north of the port,

[97] Boardman, Overseas, 39.

[98] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 16.

[99] Woolley, "Al Mina Antioch," 8.

[100] Woolley, "Al Mina Antioch," 6.

[101] Woolley, "Al Mina Antioch," 5.

[102] Niemeier, "Archaic Greeks," 13.

[103] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 11.

[104] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 11.

Sabouni has a similar chronological history as Al Mina.[105] The natural rock hill had mainly domestic architecture.[106] It is likely that Al Mina and Sabouni had a relationship as commercial city and fortified residential hill town, and the two sites may be considered one unit.[107] Wealthy businessmen who owned warehouses in Al Mina probably lived at Sabouni or in villas on high ground close by and traveled down to Al Mina to work on business days.[108] If any workers did live at Al Mina, it was most likely the poorer, non-business holding class such as dockworkers, store guards, sailors, fishermen, and petty traders.[109] Sabouni remains unexcavated at the present time, but future exploration will probably reveal more information about the role of Al Mina.

Function of Al Mina

Al Mina and Sabouni are important because they represent the first time the Greeks settled in a foreign land. Literary and archaeological evidence reveal that the port and suburb was not a Greek colony, but a settlement of Greeks among natives.[110] The location of Al Mina and Sabouni was an already established local Syrian settlement that probably allowed the Greeks to stay.[111] Al Mina has no Greek graves, cults, or architecture and very little Greek writing. Despite the lack of Greek culture, historians

[105] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 8.

[106] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 14.

[107] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 13.

[108] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 13.

[109] Woolley, "Excavations Sueidia I," 14-15.

[110] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 9.

[111] Boardman, "Excavated Al Mina," 135.

agree the Greeks were present at Al Mina and Sabouni based on pottery finds.[112] It is most likely that the Greeks came to the Near East for trading purposes, not because of a need for foodstuffs and land. Pottery finds suggest different waves of Greek people settled in Al Mina at different times. On the basis of pottery, it is assumed that the Euboeans were the first Greeks to settle at Al Mina and Sabouni, followed by Eastern Greeks and possibly Attic Greeks. The frequent change in the Greek population is probably a result of domestic issues. It appears that the Greeks transformed the small coastal indigenous settlement to an important foreign emporium full of trade warehouses. With Greek help, Al Mina became the favored location for trade in the Near East and the main port of call for Levantine trade.[113]

The Greeks received raw materials, such as iron, copper, and wood, and luxury items, such as jewelry, gold and silver drinking vessels, incense burners, cauldrons, tripods, glass and alabaster perfume flasks, furniture decorated with metal and ivory, decorated animal eggs, dyed cloth, and faience and semi-precious scarabs/scaraboids from the Near East.[114] The Greeks provided their trading partners with slaves, fine pottery, wine, and olive oil. They also worked as mercenaries in the Near East.[115] The Al Mina Greeks made a living by trading goods with two groups: they traded imported Greek pottery with the Near East for Near Eastern luxury goods and raw materials on

[112] Graham, "Historical Al Mina," 74.

[113] Boardman, Overseas, 52.

[114] Mario Torelli, "The Battle for the Sea Routes: 1000-300 BC," The Mediterranean in History, Ed. David Abulafia (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 105; Braun, "Greeks Near East," 13.

[115] Boardman, Overseas, 42.

land trade routes, and the Al Mina Greeks traded Near Eastern items with visiting Greeks in exchange for Greek pottery via sea trade routes.

Archaeological Evidence for Greeks in the Near East: Tell Sukas

Location and history of excavations

Tell Sukas is the second most important Syrian site in determining the relationship between Greece and the Near East. Initially investigated by Emil Forrer in 1934, Tell Sukas was explored by P. J. Riis, a member of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia (the Danish Expedition), in five campaigns from 1958-1963.[116] Su-uk-su (pronounced Shuksa), the ancient name of Tell Sukas, lies 72 km south of Al Mina on the Levantine coast.[117] Located on a fertile plain and bordered by the ocean and mountains, the site consists of an artificial mound with bays to the north and south.[118] The bays provided the town with two harbors.[119] Inhabited since Neolithic times, Tell Sukas continued to thrive after the disasters of 1200 BC. Archaeological evidence suggests the Greeks settled at Tell Sukas around the same time that they penetrated Al Mina, but strata suggest the city had a different history from its northern neighbor.[120] Archaeologists had a difficult time interpreting the strata because of burrowing animals, plant roots, heavy rains, local farmers, and the fact that the residents of Tell Sukas reused and rebuilt structures.[121] Riis

[116] P. J. Riis, Sukas I (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1970), 10.

[117] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 11.

[118] Riis, Sukas, 7.

[119] Riis, Sukas, 7.

[120] Riis, Sukas, 16.

[121] Riis, Sukas, 17.

divided the site into two levels: 850-675 BC and 675-498 BC.[122] The finds from Tell Sukas are more limited than those at Al Mina, but they help support the argument that the Greeks settled in the Near East.

Pottery, finds, and structures

The earliest pieces of Greek pottery from Tell Sukas date to the ninth century BC and are late Geometric Al Mina ware, proto-Corinthian ware, and Cycladic and Euboean drinking cups.[123] The pieces are similar to finds at Al Mina.[124] Drinking vessels dating to the sixth century BC, which archaeologists unearthed from tombs in the cemetery at the southern harbor, constitute the majority of the pottery.[125] The graves are Greek in type and the earliest ones date to the late seventh century BC.[126] They had Greek-like flat roof tiles similar to Corinthian rain tiles of the second half of the seventh century BC.[127] A spindle whirl found in one grave inscribed with Greek words also suggests a Greek presence in Tell Sukas.[128]

As at Al Mina, the buildings unearthed at Tell Sukas appear more Near Eastern in nature rather than reflecting the Greek tradition of architecture.[129] But Tell Sukas differs from Al Mina in that it had a structure bearing a striking resemblance to the design of a

[122] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 11.

[123] Riis, Sukas, 52.

[124] Boardman, Overseas, 53.

[125] Niemeier, "Archaic Greeks," 14.

[126] Graham, "Historical Al Mina," 77.

[127] Riis, Sukas, 52.

[128] Graham, "Historical Al Mina," 77; Riis, Sukas, 56.

[129] Riis, Sukas, 18.

Greek temple. Identified as a sanctuary dedicated to Helios, the Greek-like temple stood in a small sanctuary equipped with a large altar, an enclosure wall with at least one gateway entrance, and a Phoenician High Place.[130] The temple dates to the seventh century BC and lies on the site of a pre-Greek hearth associated with Jewish cults.[131]

Function of Tell Sukas

Even though Tell Sukas is not considered as important a site as Al Mina, it provides historians with supplementary information about the Greeks in the Near East. Other than the Greek-like temple, Tell Sukas appears to have no Greek architecture, although they did bury their dead in Greek type graves. They continued to use their native pottery and utensils. The temple also offers evidence that they worshipped their native gods in the foreign land. Just like Al Mina, Tell Sukas functioned as a port that probably allowed the transplanted Greeks to trade with other Greeks and the native population. While Al Mina was left unscathed, Tell Sukas served as the battleground for Syria, Egypt, Assyria, and Neo-Babylonia, who struggled for power over the Levantine Coast during the first half of the first millennium BC. Even though Tell Sukas had a different history from that of Al Mina, the ancient Iron Age town is still an important site of Greek-Near Eastern interaction.

Archaeological Evidence for Greeks in the Near East: Minor Sites

Archaeologists found Greek pottery scattered throughout the Near East, which supplies more evidence of a Greek presence in the east. Archaeologists discovered

[130] Boardman, Overseas, 53.

[131] Niemeier, "Archaic Greeks," 14.

Euboean and Cycladic skyphoi at Tell Abu Hawam and Tabbat al Habban.[132] They also discovered drinking cups in Near Eastern cremation tombs at Khalde near Beirut, Tell Rachidieh near Tyre, and Hamath.[133] Historians unearthed a large ninth century Attic krater in a local shrine at Hamath and Samaria also possessed a ninth century Cycladic krater.[134] Athenian, Euboean, and Cycladic Geometric ware was found at Hamath, Chatal Huyuk, Nineveh, Sidon, Megiddo, Samaria, Zinjirli, Babylon, Tell Abu Hawam, and Ras Ibn Hani.[135] Tyre also had Greek pottery, and Greek mercenaries working for the king of Tyre kept Greek pottery at the fortified site of Tel Kabri.[136] Archaeologists excavated skyphoi in Cilicia at Mersin and Tarsus.[137] They also found two Greek weapons at Carchemish and a Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl decorated with Greek hoplite soldiers from the late eighth century BC or early seventh century BC.[138] The wide range of find spots of Greek pottery suggests Greek pottery was a valued commodity in the Near East. The inland sites probably received Greek pottery via trade routes from Syrian ports such as Al Mina and Tell Sukas. These ports probably also had Greek visitors and settlers.

[132] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 5.

[133] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 9.

[134] Braun, "Greeks Near East," 9; Niemeier, "Archaic Greeks," 12.

[135] Boardman, Overseas, 45-50; Niemeier, "Archaic Greeks," 12.

[136] Niemeier, "Archaic Greeks" 20.

[137] Boardman, Overseas, 45.

[138] Niemeier, "Archaic Greeks," 17-18.

Part Three: Other Exchanges between Greece and the Near East

In order to make a strong argument for the Near Eastern origin of the kouros, it is important to see whether the Greeks borrowed other aspects of eastern culture. It appears that Greece learned a new writing system from the Near East. The Greek alphabet was not an original invention, but an adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet. However, it is difficult to trace its origins because the earliest examples of Greek writing show no uniformity, which problematizes the task of reconstructing where and when the Greeks adopted the eastern script. The accepted range of adoption dates vary from as early as 1100 BC to as late as 750 BC.[139] Al Mina, Tell Sukas, Ras-el-Basit, Cyprus, Crete, Greek Thebes, and Pithekoussai are among the possible birthplaces of the Greek alphabet.[140]

Sarah P. Morris believes that the Greeks adopted Near Eastern cults and religious beliefs as well as metallurgy techniques.[141] She also states the Greek Aeolic capital was a response to Near Eastern architecture.[142] These exchanges show a strong relationship

[139] B. F. Cook, "Greek Inscriptions," Reading the Past: Ancient Writing from Cuneiform to the Alphabet, Ed. J. T. Hooker (Berkley: University of California Press, 2000), 267; John F. Healey, "The Early Alphabet," Reading the Past: Ancient Writing from Cuneiform to the Alphabet, Ed. J. T. Hooker (Berkley: University of California Press, 1990), 36; Lilian Hamilton Jeffrey, The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth centuries BC (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990)13; Joseph Naveh, "Some Semitic Epigraphica1 Considerations on the Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet," American Journal of Archaeology 77 (1973), 6.

[140] Healey, "Early Alphabet," 36, 38; Jeffrey, Local Scripts, 7,11; David Ridgway, The First Western Greeks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 116; Roger D. Woodard, Greek Writing from Knossos to Homer: A Linguistic Continuity of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and the Continuity of Ancient Greek Literacy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 234.

[141] Sarah P. Morris, Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 115.

[142] Morris, Daidalos, 147.

between the two cultures and strengthens the argument that Greece had the potential for borrowing eastern sculptural ideas.

Part Four: Summary

It appears that Greece borrowed a new writing system, religious beliefs, architectural ideas, and metallurgy techniques from the Near East. But a comparison between Near Eastern sculptural traditions and the Greek kouros indicates Greek artists did not borrow the form of Near Eastern sculpture to create the kouros type. The lack of literary evidence describing the Greeks in the Near East and the small amount of Greek material culture in the Near East also undermine the idea that Greece was inspired by the form eastern sculpture.

Assyria had the most potential for influencing the kouros because it had the strongest sculptural tradition, but it was Lydia that actually had the greatest impact on Archaic sculpture. Greece probably acquired a new set of iron tools and stone cutting techniques for hard stone from Lydia.

Since the Cycladic Islands and Ionian Samos produced the earliest kouroi, they were probably the first to receive the new skills. Greek artists may have learned how to work with hard stone indirectly from Phoenicia, which brought the new set of tools and techniques to the Greeks as middlemen. Phoenicia had a trading relationship with the Aegean, but it is unlikely that Phoenician merchants, who were not trained sculptors, saw the potential for a new set of sculpting tools and carried the items to Greece. It is also possible that Greeks visiting or living in Syrian coastal settlements such as Al Mina and Tell Sukas received the tools and carving methods via land trade routes between Lydia and Syria. They could have imported the ideas back to Greece. Both sites and cities further inland have Cycladic pottery, which suggests Greeks from the Cycladic islands

visited or settled in the Near East. But Al Mina and Tell Sukas functioned as emporia and the presence of Greek pottery does not necessarily mean Greeks visited or settled in the Near East. The cities also did not have art workshops, which strongly indicates that Greek artists did not live or visit the Near East.

It is most likely that the Ionian Greeks learned the new skills directly from Lydia. King Gyges (685-852 BC) conquered the Ionian Greeks and gave them trading rights in the Lydian empire, which would have facilitated a relationship between the two cultures.[143] Lydia gave the Ionians trading rights, and they probably had the opportunity to witness Lydian hard stone architecture first hand and adopt its tools and techniques. Ionian Samos produced some of the earliest kouroi, which most likely borrowed the new skills from Lydia and shared the information with nearby areas such as the Cyclades. After the Eastern Greek world made the first kouroi, the type spread to mainland Greece and the peripheral areas of Greece. While the form of the kouros did not originate in the Near East, the knowledge of how to work with hard stone likely did. But archaeologists must look to other foreign sources, namely Egypt, to help explain the characteristics of the kouros.

[143] James Mellaart, The Archaeology of Ancient Turkey (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), 104; Woolley, Middle East, 161.



Figure 3-1. Map of the ancient Near East.



Figure 3-2. Assurnasirpal II, 883-859 BC, limestone, 1.06 m, from Ninurta Temple, Nimrud. (Strommenger, 5000 Years of Mesopotamian Art, fig. 196).

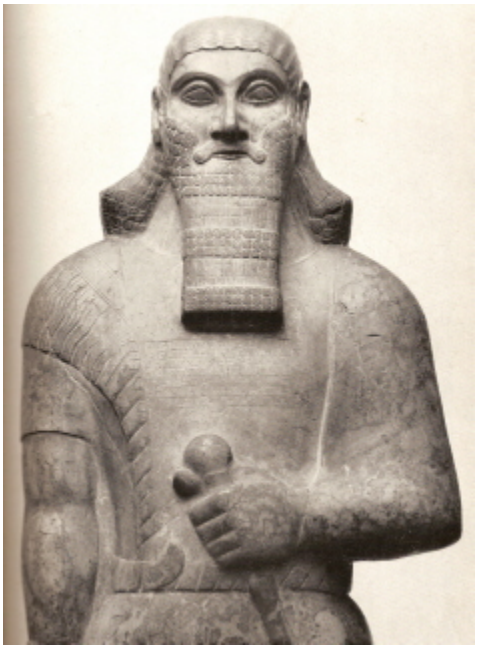


Figure 3-3. Detail of Assurnasirpal II, 883-859 BC, limestone, 1.06 m, from Ninurta Temple, Nimrud. (Strommenger, 5000 Years of Mesopotamian Art, fig. 197).



Figure 3-4. Shalmaneser III, 858-823 BC, limestone, 1.90 m, from Assur. (Parrot, The Arts of Assyria, fig. 21).



Figure 3-5. Detail of Shalmaneser III, 858-823 BC, limestone, 1.90 m, from Assur. (Parrot, The Arts of Assyria, fig. 20).



Figure 3-6. Seated statue Shalmaneser III, 858-823 BC, basalt, from Assur. **(**Parrot, The Arts of Assyria, fig. 19).



Figure 3-7. Side view of unknown Assyrian King, amber. (Frankfurt, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, fig. 177).



Figure 3-8. Detail of unknown Assyrian King, amber. (Frankfurt, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, fig. 176).



Figure 3-9. Nabu deity, 811-793 BC, limestone, 1.60 m, from Nabu Temple, Nimrud. (Parrot, The Arts of Assyria, fig. 24).



Figure 3-10. Box holder, 811-793 BC, limestone, from Khorsabad. (Parrot, The Arts of Assyria, fig. 27).



Figure 3-11. Atlas figure, 811-793 BC, limestone, from Nabu Temple, Khorsabad. (Parrot, The Arts of Assyria, fig. 25).

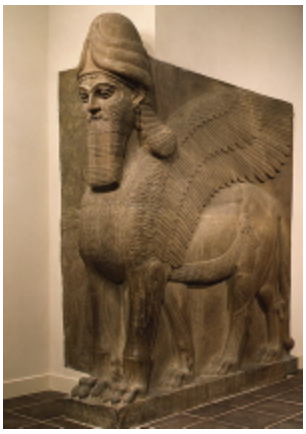


Figure 3.12 Lamassu, 883-859 BC, alabaster, 313.7cm, from Nimrud. (Source: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ho/04/wam/ho_32.143.2.htm, Last accessed May 24, 2005).



Figure 3-13. Colossal head, possibly Ishtar, traces of pigment on hair, from South West Palace, Room XXXVI, Nineveh. (Barnett, Assyrian Sculpture, fig. 87).



Figure 3-14. Assyrian troops fording a river, North West Palace, Throne Room, Nimrud. (Barnett, Assyrian Palace Reliefs, fig. 16).



Figure 3-15. The King in his chariot on the ferry, North West Palace, Throne Room, Nimrud. (Barnett, Assyrian Sculpture, fig. 26).



Figure 3-16. Hebrew prisoners laid out for flaying by Assyrians soldiers, South West Palace, Room XXXVI, Nineveh. (Barnett, Assyrian Sculpture, fig. 81).



Figure 3-17. Aerial view of Bin Tepe. (Source: http://www.artmuseums.harvard.edu/sardis/burial.html, Last accessed May 1, 2005).



Figure 3-18. Dromos and burial chamber, Tomb of Alyattes, 570-560 BC, Bine Tepe. (Butler, Sardis Vol. I, Ill. 3).



Figure 3-19. Burial chamber, Tomb of Alyattes, 570-560 BC, Bin Tepe. (Hanfmann and Mierse, Sardis: From Preshistoric to Roman Times, fig. 102).



Figure 3-20. Masonry, Burial chamber, Tomb of Alyattes, 570-560 BC, Bin Tepe. (Hanfmann and Mierse, Sardis: From Preshistoric to Roman Times, fig. 103).



Figure 3-21. Map of Phoenician settlements. (Source: http://www2.worldbook.com/features/explorers/assets/LR004388.gif, Last accessed May 1, 2005).



Figure 3-22. Map of Phoenician trade routes. (Source: http://www.babyloniangal.com/files/phoenicia/m_medptc.gif, Last accessed May 1, 2005).



Figure 3-23. Map with Al Mina, Syria. (Source: http://www.metmuseum.org/explore/Greek/map_new50.JPG, Last accessed May1, 2005).

CHAPTER 4
EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE

Because the Greek and Near Eastern sculptural traditions do not account for a majority of the kouros' characteristics, archaeologists believe the other major contemporary culture in the Mediterranean, Egypt, may have influenced its form (Fig. 4-1). A comparison of Egyptian statuary and the Greek kouros will illuminate whether Greece borrowed sculptural ideas from Egypt. It will also help clarify the role of Greece and Near Eastern cultures in the development of the Archaic kouros. It is also necessary to analyze the historical relationship between Greece and Egypt to determine where and when Greek artists had the opportunity to borrow Egyptian sculptural features.

Part One: Egyptian Origin of the Kouros

The strongest argument for the Egyptian origin of the Greek kouros is the pose. Since the Old Kingdom, Egyptian sculptors created pieces in a frontal walking pose with the figures' left foot forward and its arms at its sides (Figs. 4-2, 4-3, 4-4).[1] They continued to use the pose throughout the entire Egyptian civilization.[2] They depicted human subjects in only a few prescribed poses and the walking pose was the most frequently used pose. It was used mainly to depict the first tier of Egyptian society (the ruling class, high officials, and the gods).[3] The fact that only the ruling class

[1] G. Maspero, Art in Egypt (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), 73.

[2] Maspero, Art Egypt, 73.

[3] Kazimierz Michalowski, Great Sculpture of Ancient Egypt (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1978), 13.

commissioned walking figures is a result of the pharaoh's controlling sculptural workshops and because only the elite could afford to be patrons of the arts.

It appears that Greek artists copied the Egyptian walking pose to make kouroi, but a few differences between the two traditions are discernable. When carved from stone, Egyptian sculptures retain the stone in the fists, between the arms and torso, and between the legs. The figures lean back against a pillar, which followed the contour of the figure's body, and the pillar was carved from the same block of stone as the sculpture.[4] Because the Egyptian statues leaned backward, they placed all their weight on the right leg.[5] In contrast, Greek kouroi do not have stone between their limbs nor do they have a pillar to lean against. Placing weight on both legs, the Archaic sculptures do not lean back but stand upright. Greek artists chose a slightly different pose from the Egyptian model. Rather than producing an allusion to walking they captured the action of walking. The viewer can clearly see the difference from a side view. Because the kouros distributes its weight evenly, its legs form an isosceles triangle, while the legs of Egyptian statuary make a right triangle, which means the legs of Egyptian statues are not equal in length (Figs 4-5, 4-6). Along with the standing pose, the seated, squatting, cube-shaped, and cross-legged scribe poses are the other common poses used in Egyptian statuary.[6] However, the Greeks appear to have adopted only the Egyptian walking pose, probably because Greek sculpture already had a strong tradition of standing figures.

[4] Cyril Aldred, Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs 3100-320 BC (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 93; Brooklyn Museum, Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 BC-100 AD (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1960), xxxiv; Maspero, Art Egypt, 74.

[5] Maspero, Art Egypt, 73.

[6] Michalowski, Sculpture Egypt, 14-15.

Another strong point in the argument for Egyptian influence is material. Egypt favored stone, both soft and hard, for sculpture, and it had an abundance of local stone resources.[7] Artists carved sculptures from sedimentary limestone, sandstone, alabaster, serpentine, and gypsum quarried from the waterways of the Nile.[8] They also worked with hard igneous and metamorphic rock such as granite, quartzite, diorite, basalt, and schist from the deserts and cataracts.[9] But limestone was the most frequently carved material from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom, and the Late Period preferred hard stone.[10] Greece made the majority of kouroi in marble and some in soft stones. Even though the Egyptians preferred to create statues from limestone, they had the ability to work with hard stones and made hard stone statuary throughout their history. Egypt's talent for working with hard stones probably inspired the Greeks to create sculpture with its indigenous marble, a material not used before the Archaic period.

Egyptian artists also covered their statuary with polychromy in a wide range of colors (Fig 4-7).[11] Based on colors found in the natural world, the flat paint was more like a color wash that helped illuminate the pieces.[12] Along with protecting the sculpture's surface, paint added a life-like quality to the piece. Greek artists also applied flat colored earth tone paint to the surface of both soft and hard stone kouroi.

[7] T. G. H. James and W. V. Davies, Egyptian Sculpture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 5.

[8] Aldred, Egyptian Art, 22.

[9] Aldred, Egyptian Art, 22.

[10] James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture, 16; E. Denison Ross, The Art of Egypt through the Ages (London: Studio, 1931), 49; W. Stevenson Smith, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt (Baltimore: Penguin, 195), 249.

[11] Pierre Paris, Manual of Ancient Sculpture (New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1984), 33.

[12] James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture, 16.

The size of Egyptian statuary and Greek kouroi is another indicator that the Greeks may have borrowed ideas from Egypt. Egypt had a long tradition of creating large scale statues.[13] A majority of works from the Old Kingdom represents life-size figures, and, as time passed, the scale of Egyptian statuary increased. Figures reached a colossal size by the New Kingdom (Figs. 4-8, 4-9). Greek sculptors made kouroi in a wide range of sizes from figurines, smaller than life-size, life-size, over life-size, and colossal. Even though small scale works were a feature of the Greek tradition, large scale figures were not, and Egypt probably influenced the Greeks to create life-size, over life-size, and colossal kouroi (Fig. 4-10). Some of the earliest kouroi are the largest ones, which suggest the Greeks quickly adopted the large scale quality of Egyptian figures.

The kouros type and Egyptian sculpture are also similar in shape, proportions, and treatment of musculature. The frontal view of the Egyptian standing pose caused Egyptian statues to have a four-sided block-like shape, forcing the viewer to analyze the statue from four different points of view: front, back, and the two sides. The kouros has the same shape, which indicates that the Greeks probably adopted the shape of Egyptian statuary. The proportions of Greek kouroi appear similar to the proportions of Egyptian sculpture. Egypt had a canonical system of proportions for measuring the body that created the archetypal male form (Fig. 4-11). Egyptian sculptors made changes to the canon over time, but the adjustments were minor, and the end result was the same.[14]

[13] Aldred, Egyptian Art, 12.

[14] Erik Iversen, Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art (Warminster: Ares and Phillips, 1975), 9, 28. During the Egyptian civilization, artists created three versions of the canon of proportions. In the Old and Middle Kingdom, artists divided the body with a module representing one sixth of the figures' height from the base of the figure to the hairline. In the New Kingdom, a second canon of proportions divided the body on a grid of eighteen squares with a unit based on the width of a fist. Dynasty 26 of the Late Period changed the second canon by dividing the body into twenty-one and one quarter squares from the base of the figure to the nose (Fig. 4-12).

Based on the anatomy of a man, the prescribed formula produced an idealized, symmetrical human form.

Eleanor Guralnick has conducted several analyses of Greek kouroi and the Egyptian canons with statistical mathematics to see whether the Greeks borrowed an Egyptian measurement system.[15] Her results reveal a strong connection between the Egyptian canon used by Dynasty 26 and the proportions of early kouroi and a few mid to late archaic kouroi. Her findings suggest that Greek sculptors borrowed the Egyptian canon of proportions to create the kouros (Fig. 4-13). Both cultures were interested in idealized representations of the male body. The mathematical system for measuring the parts of the body established a framework to depict muscles as simple geometric shapes. The Egyptian sculptural tradition produced a fit, healthy male build.[16] The statues represented their subjects in the prime of their youth with bodies devoid of physical imperfections or debilitating disorders. Their unnaturally symmetrical facial features and benign smiles reflect a calm, serene, and sober attitude.[17] Greek kouroi also focus on depicting an idealized youthful man with a perfect, symmetrical body and a serene face complete with the "Archaic" smile. It is most likely that Egypt influenced the overall shape and treatment of the body of early kouroi.

Another piece of evidence in the argument for an Egyptian origin of the kouros is the function of kouroi. The role of sculpture in both Egyptian and Greek society fulfilled practical functions in either a funerary or religious context.[18] Egyptian funerary statues,

[15] See Eleanor Gurlanick in works cited.

[16] Michalowski, Sculpture Egypt, 13.

[17] Maspero, Art Egypt, 74.

[18] Aldred, Egyptian Art, 7-8.

often called ka statues, represented a double for the mummified deceased.[19] Ka statues provided the dead with a permanent body for their ka (spirit) to rest in the afterlife.[20] Positioned inside tombs and funerary temples, the statues were outside of the public realm.[21] The Egyptians also made votive statues dedicated to the gods that acted as substitutes for the patron.[22] The statues stood in place of the individual and continuously prayed and performed daily rituals for the deities.[23] Egyptians placed votive statues in the temple complexes, and these were in the public sphere of Egyptian culture.[24]

Even though the Greek kouros had a funerary and religious meaning, it functioned in a slightly different manner from Egyptian statues. Rather than representing the deceased, the kouros marked the burial spot of a man. When used in a religious context, kouroi did not stand in place of the patron in a continual state of prayer but represented a gift honoring the gods. The idea of the anonymous artist prevailed in both cultures, each of which placed more importance on the function of the piece than the artistic skills of the sculptor. Greek artists seem to have adopted the funerary and religious connotation but adapted the meanings to fit Greek culture.

Despite the overwhelming archaeological evidence suggesting that Egyptian sculpture influenced the features of the kouros, a few differences between the two

[19] Maspero, Art Egypt, 17.

[20] Kurt Lange and Max Hirmer, Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years (London: Phaidon, 1968), 5.

[21] James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture, 10; Lange and Hirmer, Egypt, 5.

[22] James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture, 10

[23] James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture, 10

[24] James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture, 10.

traditions are worth mentioning. While Greece and Egypt used similar tools and methods for carving soft stone, they used a different set of tools and techniques to make statuary from hard stone. It appears unlikely that Egypt taught the Greeks how to work with hard stone. Egypt had already mastered the skills of carving soft and hard stone by the Predynastic Period, and the method did not change with time despite technological advances.[25] Egyptian artists carved hard stone with stone tools made from even harder stone, dolerite.[26] After softening a block of hard stone by lighting it on fire and extinguishing the fire with water, sculptors worked with natural dolerite rocks and pebbles to pound and grind away layers of stone.[27] Greek artists preferred to work with iron tools to carve away layers of hard stone. Egyptian sculptors worked with one block of stone, and Greek artists sometimes made different pieces of a sculpture separately and attached them together.[28] While a single Greek artist apparently carved kouroi (sometimes with help from assistants), Egyptian sculptural workshops were organized into departments where artists specialized in one skill in the sculpting process.[29] The workshops created pieces on an assembly line; statues were not created by one hand like a Greek kouros, but by teamwork. The Egyptian method also ensured no major changes

[25] James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture, 16.

[26] James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture, 17.

[27] Aldred, Egyptian Art, 23.

[28] Aldred, Egyptian Art, 94.

[29] Aldred, Egyptian Art, 29; Michalowski, Sculpture Egypt, 70. The specialized positions in Egyptian sculptural workshops included a stone cutter/quarryman, a person who drew outlines of figures, an artist who cuts statues into shape, a modeler, a smother/polisher, a person who mixed plaster, a plaster worker, a specialist who painted statuary, and auxiliary workers.

in the treatment of the human form, while individual Greek artists had room to experiment.

Another difference between Egyptian sculpture and kouroi is the Egyptian interest in portraiture.[30] While the Greek kouros represented a generic male devoid of any individualizing characteristics, Egyptian statuary attempted to capture a likeness in facial features and body build of the patron, although in a generalized way. The kouros represented a nude man. Egypt did create a few nude adult statues, but its artists typically represented their figures clothed and only children were represented without clothing (Figs. 4-14, 4-15, 4-16, 4-17).[31] Egyptian artists considered a statue incomplete without inscriptions, but only a handful of Greek kouroi had inscriptions.[32] The last notable difference between the Greek and Egyptian traditions is the location of the sculpture. Egyptians placed their sculpture in tomb and temple complexes, which only a limited number of people could access, and the Greeks placed their statues in public cemeteries and sanctuaries.

The differences between Egyptian statuary and the Greek kouros do not mean that Egypt did not influence the kouros. It seems unlikely that Greek artists would copy all aspects of Egyptian sculpture. It is only logical that they borrowed features that would translate well into the Greek tradition of sculpture. Archaeological remains suggest that the Greeks received inspiration from Egyptian sculpture to create certain aspects of the

[30] Paris, Manual Sculpture, 4.

[31] Aldred, Egyptian Art, 17.

[32] James and Davies, Egyptian Sculpture, 10.

kouros. When borrowing Egyptian forms, Greek artists probably altered some features to better meet the needs of the Greek society.

Part Two: Historical Argument for Egyptian Influence

It is necessary to examine the relationship between Egypt and Greece to trace the exact moment and location where the Greeks borrowed Egyptian artistic ideas. After the Late Mycenaean Period, a break in contact occurred between Egypt and Greece because of disturbances in the Mediterranean. But the split was not complete. Even though the two peoples did not have direct communication, they maintained an indirect relationship through the Phoenicians. It was not until the reign of pharaoh Psammetichus I (664-610 BC) of Dynasty 26 that they began to interact directly again. Foreign oppression and internal turmoil gave the Greeks a window of opportunity to settle in the Nile River Delta at Naukratis and reestablish a relationship with Egypt.

During the first half of the first millennium BC, Assyria, Libya, and the Kushite Kingdom controlled Egypt. Psammetichus I, a native Egyptian prince, desired to free Egypt from foreign rule and enlisted Ionian and Carian mercenaries to help liberate Egypt. Victorious in his effort, Psammetichus I founded Dynasty 26 and awarded the mercenaries careers in his army. He also gave the soldiers land at Naukratis to create a new settlement. Archaeologists use both literary evidence and archaeological remains at Naukratis to help reconstruct the relationship between Greece and Egypt.

Literary Evidence for Greeks in Egypt

Strabo and Herodotus are the most valuable sources for information about the Greeks in Egypt.[33] According to Strabo, the Greeks arrived in Egypt during the reign of

[33] Albert Leonard, Jr., Ancient Naukratis (Ann Arbor: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1997), 1.

Psammetichus I in the second half of the seventh century BC.[34] According to Strabo, thirty Milesian ships sailed into the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile and constructed a fort along the riverbank and raided Egypt.[35] After a short time, the Milesians sailed upstream to Sais, fought and won a naval battle against Inaros, and founded Naukratis as a Milesian colony.[36] But two problems appear in Strabo's writings that hinder his credibility: the character of Inaros and the fact that Egypt allowed foreigners to settle. Inaros was a historical figure, but he did not live until the fifth century BC.[37] After the death of Xerxes in 460 BC, Inaros persuaded the Egyptian people to break away from Persian rule, which resulted in a naval battle.[38] Strabo probably misunderstood his sources and confused the foundations of Naukratis with a later sea battle.[39] The character of Inaros provides no evidence for the dating of Naukratis. It also seems unlikely that after years of foreign rule at the hands of the Libyans, Kushites, and Assyrians that Dynasty 26 would allow any foreigners, including the Greeks, to invade and settle in their land.[40] These two points force historians to turn to the writings of other ancient historians, particularly Herodotus.

[34] M. M. Austin, Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age (Cambridge: University Printing House, 1970), 23.

[35] T. F. R. G. Braun, "The Greeks in Egypt," The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 3.3, Ed. John Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 37; Richard Sullivan, "Psammetichus I and the Foundation of Naukratis," The Survey at Naukratis (Oxford: Oxford Books, 1996), 186.

[36] Einar Gjerstad, "Studies in Archaic Greek Chronology," Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology 21 (1934): 68; Astrid Möller, Naukratis: Trade in Ancient Greece (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 184; Sullivan, 178.

[37] Gjerstad, "Studies Archaic," 68; Möller, Naukratis Trade, 187.

[38] Möller, Naukratis Trade, 186.

[39] Möller, Naukratis Trade, 187.

[40] Möller, Naukratis Trade, 187.

Herodotus actually visited Naukratis in the fifth century BC and wrote about the history of the city during the times of pharaohs Psammetichus I and Amasis (570-526 BC). According to Herodotus, Psammetichus I received a message from Bute the Oracle that "vengeance would come from the sea when bronze men appeared."[41] The ambiguous oracle probably refers to bronze hoplite armor of Greek mercenaries.[42] But exactly how the mercenaries came to Egypt remains unknown.[43] Herodotus believed a mixed group of Ionian and Carian pirates or mercenaries accidentally landed in Egypt after fleeing from the Cimmerians in Asia Minor.[44] When Psammetichus I saw their bronze armor, he believed Bute's prophecy had been fulfilled.[45] He persuaded the pirates/mercenaries to stay in Egypt and fight with him to overcome foreign oppression and reunite Egypt.[46] As a reward, the pharaoh stationed the Ionian and Carian mercenaries at permanent land camps called stratopeda on opposite sides of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.[47] The soldiers provided protection against threats from the land and sea. They lived at the camps until Amasis moved them to Memphis to serve as his bodyguards.[48] Along with the stratopeda, Psammetichus I also stationed foreign

[41] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 35.

[42] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 35.

[43] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 35.

[44] Austin, Greece Egypt Archaic, 17.

[45] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 35.

[46] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 35.

[47] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 43; Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 186.

[48] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 186.

mercenaries at three other garrisons: Elephantine on the Nubian border, Marea against the Libyans, and Daphnae to buffer the east.[49]

He also wrote that Amasis gave Naukratis to the Greeks to use as a commercial center.[50] His statement can be interpreted two ways: that Amasis literally founded Naukratis as a settlement for the Greeks or that he reorganized an already existing site and gave the city a new set of laws.[51] Option number two corresponds to the anti-Greek sentiment in Egypt under Amasis' rule, and Amasis apparently ordered all Greeks in Egypt to move to the already established Greek occupied site of Naukratis. He reorganized the city and gave the town a charter with a new set of laws, which forced the Greeks to restrict trade activity to Naukratis.[52] As a result, the city quickly transformed from a small trading post to a large emporium, or port of trade.[53]

While Amasis ordered the Greeks to pay taxes on all goods traded or produced in Naukratis, he allowed them to continue building sanctuaries to worship their native gods. One sanctuary, the Hellenion, was actually built under his rule.[54] A structure where Greek settlers could worship all gods in the Greek pantheon, the Hellenion was built by a group of nine cities: four East Greek Dorian colonies (Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassus, and Phaselis), four East Greek Ionian cities (Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae), and

[49] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 44.

[50] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 38; William D. E. Coulson and Albert Leonard, Jr., "Investigations at Naukratis and Environs," American Journal of Archaeology 86.3 (1982), 361.

[51] R. M. Cook, "Amasis and the Greeks in Egypt," The Journal of Hellenic Studies 57.2 (1937), 232.

[52] Coulson and Leonard, "Investigations Naukratis," 362.

[53] Coulson and Leonard, "Investigations Naukratis," 362.

[54] C. C. Edgar, H. L. L., and D. G. H., "Naukratis, 1903," The Journal of Hellenic Studies 25 (1905), 135.

one Aeolian city (Mytilene).[55] Herodotus believed these cities along with Samos and Miletus supplied Egypt with Greek mercenaries and founded Naukratis.[56]

One other piece of information Herodotus provides to establish the foundation date of Naukratis is a story about Sappho's brother Charaxus. Charaxus was a wine merchant and during one of his trips to Naukratis he bought the freedom of a Thracian courtesan named Rhodopis.[57] Charaxus' purchase occurred one generation before the reign of Amasis, which indicates Naukratis was already established before the time of Amasis. It is possible that Strabo and Herodotus were actually describing the same events; Strabo's Milesians could be included in Herodotus' Ionian and Carian mercenaries.[58]

Several other authors such as Diodorus, Homer, Polyaenus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Polycharmus, and Atheneus also wrote scraps of information about the Greeks in Egypt.[59] Writers such as Solon, Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato visited Naukratis, but Strabo and Herodotus offer the most amount of information about the Greeks in Egypt. In addition, historians have used epigraphy to determine the exact foundation date and the origin of the Greek settlers, but inscriptions from Naukratis do not provide a clear chronological framework of the city.[60] Therefore archaeologists must rely on physical

[55] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 177.

[56] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 177.

[57] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 178.

[58] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 178.

[59] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 36-37; Möller, Naukratis Trade, 182; Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 178.

[60] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 178.

evidence to reconstruct the relationship between Greece and Egypt and the role of Naukratis.[61]

Archaeological evidence for Greeks in Egypt: Naukratis

Location and history of excavations

Naukratis is located about ten miles from Sais in the western Delta on the Canopic branch of the Nile (Fig. 4-18).[62] The modern village Kom Ge'if lies on top of the ancient town, which covered an area 950 by 580 meters.[63] W. M. Flinders Petrie discovered the site in 1884 and was the first person to excavate Naukratis in 1884-1885.[64] Several factors hindered his excavation and findings. Local farmers dug away about one third of the city, and the site was continually inundated by water. Petrie excavated at the south end of Naukratis and focused his work on the religious structures, ignoring any domestic and commercial aspects of the site.[65] It is also possible that Petrie did not reach the lowest level of the city's foundation in his excavations.[66] Ernest A. Gardner continued excavating Naukratis in 1886 and he also concentrated on the southern end of the town. David G. Hogarth explored the northern end of Naukratis in 1889 and 1903 and proposed an ethnic division of the site: a native Egyptian site at the southern end and a Greek

[61] William D. E. Coulson and Albert Leonard, Jr., "A Preliminary Survey of the Naukratis Region in the Western Delta," Journal of Field Archaeology 6.2 (Summer 1979), 151.

[62] John Boardman, The Greeks Overseas (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 139.

[63] Coulson and Leonard, "Investigations Naukratis," 362.

[64] William D. E. Coulson and Albert Leonard, Jr., Cities of the Delta Part 1/Naukratis (Malibu: Undena, 1981), 1.

[65] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 1; Coulson and Leonard, "Preliminary Survey Naukratis," 151.

[66] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 177.

occupied northern section.[67] The Naukratis Project excavated Naukratis in the late 1970's and early 1980's, and the project surveyed ten ancient sites within a twenty-five mile radius of Naukratis. The main goal of the project was to research the inhabitants of the region.

Pottery

One of the strongest pieces of evidence for a Greek presence in Naukratis is Greek pottery. The earliest pieces date to the second quarter of the seventh century BC, and a majority of the pottery is East Greek. [68] Archaeologists did not unearth pottery dating from the early reign of Psammetichus I but from a period about twenty years after he took the throne in the third quarter of the seventh century BC.[69] A lack of pottery dating to the beginning of his rule confirms the literary evidence that the pharaoh originally established Naukratis as a military site for mercenaries.[70] When the Ionian mercenaries came to Egypt, they probably did not bring pottery because they did not plan on living in Egypt permanently. According to literary sources, Psammetichus I hired the mercenaries as a temporary aid, and the mercenaries most likely expected to return home. However, Psammetichus I needed a permanent army to thwart future conflicts and offered the warriors land at Naukratis in exchange for a career in his army. Troops stationed at

[67] Boardman, Overseas, 139; Coulson and Leonard, "Investigations Naukratis," 365; Gjerstand, "Studies Archaic," 69; Einar Gjerstad, "Naukratis Again," Acta Archaeologica 30 (1960), 158. According to Hogarth's theory, Egyptians lived in the southern end of Nuakratis and the Greeks occupied the north. Einar Naukratis Gjerstad agrees with Hogarth and believes that the Greeks created Naukratis on at already established Egyptian settlement named Pi-ermo. Boardman thinks the entire site of Naukratis is Greek; the town was not sectioned into Egyptian and Greek quarters and the Egyptians did not previously inhabit the site before the Greeks arrived.

[68] Austin, Greece Egypt Archaic, 24-26; Coulson and Leonard, "Investigations Naukratis," 361; Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 190.

[69] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 190.

[70] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 190.

Naukratis probably relied on local Egyptian goods until they established communication with their homeland to import their native goods.[71]

The large amounts of pottery dating to the end of the seventh century BC are believed to reflect the transition from a military settlement to a trading post.[72] Another firm indicator for a mid to late seventh century BC foundation date is that Vroulia, already founded by 650 BC, and Naukratis share a rare type of pottery called bird bowls.[73] The vessels indicate that the Greeks settled in Naukratis around the same time as the foundation of Vroulia in order for Vroulia to export goods to the new market.[74]

It is important to remember that pottery does not always reflect the origin of settlers because pottery was a trade good.[75] John Boardman states that Greek pottery found in Egypt does not necessarily mean the Greeks visited or lived in Egypt. But the dominance of late seventh century BC East Greek pottery corresponds with information in ancient documents.[76]

Sculpture

Kouroi found at Naukratis also offer evidence that the Greeks were in Egypt and borrowed sculptural ideas from Egypt. In Naukratis, archaeologists unearthed three kouroi from temples, two from the Temple of Aphrodite and one from the Temple of

[71] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 190.

[72] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 190.

[73] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 188.

[74] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 188.

[75] Boardman, Overseas, 141.

[76] Overseas, 141.

Apollo, and they also discovered four more in other areas of the town.[77] All the kouroi found in Egypt are carved from local Egyptian soft stones, specifically sandstone, alabaster, and limestone. The pieces are also small scale portable figurines and date from 615-590 BC to 590-570 BC. The Naukratite kouroi appear to have been made later than the earliest examples of kouroi found in Samos and the Cyclades. The statutes suggest the presence of a sculptural workshop, but archaeologists have yet to discover one.[78] They believe Greek artists probably established workshops at the large sanctuaries in Naukratis for the creation of devotional objects.[79]

Despite the fact that the kouroi from Naukratis are small scale, made with soft stone, and date after the initial creation of the kouros type, the kouroi suggest that Greek artists experimented with Egyptian sculptural ideas possibly before taking the new ideas back to Greece. There a several reasons why Greek artists may have preferred to make small scale and soft stone works at Naukratis. Almost half of the kouroi found in the ancient port were votive offerings, and it is logical that merchants and visitors passing through the port would commission small scale less expensive soft stone pieces. It seems unlikely that they would spend a large sum of money on a large scale hard stone piece for a one-time offering. If Greek artists wanted to a bring a model of Egyptian-like sculpture back to Greece, it would have been easier to transport a light, small scale example than a heavy, large scale, hard stone piece. Greek artists in Naukratis probably carved kouroi with Egyptian d soft stones because they already had a native Greek tradition for creating

[77] Cook, "Amasis Greeks," 235; Möller, Naukratis Trade, 160.

[78] Möller, Naukratis Trade, 160-161

[79] Möller, Naukratis Trade, 199.

soft stone sculpture. Since Greek artists did not adopt Egyptian sculpting tools or techniques, it is also unlikely that they would attempt to produce pieces in Egyptian hard stone.

Even though archaeologists did not find kouroi dating before 615-610 BC in Naukratis, it does not mean earlier examples did not exist. As stated earlier, it is possible that Petrie did not excavate to the lowest level of Naukratis.[80] Earlier kouroi, which would provide a link between Egyptian sculpture and the earliest kouroi, may still lie buried at Naukratis. In addition to kouroi, archaeologists also found a Greek faience factory near the temple of Aphrodite that produced egyptianizing scarabs, vases, and trinkets during the early part of Dynasty 26.[81]

Structures

Because pottery and sculpture do not provide concrete proof that the Greeks settled in Naukratis, it is necessary to analyze the structural remains of the site. Archaeologists discovered several Greek like temples but few structures pertaining to the domestic or commercial role of the town (Fig. 4-19). The earliest stratum at Naukratis is at the south end of the town, which reveals a layer of deeply burnt material.[82] The burnt stratum contains large amounts of wood, an unusual material for Egypt, which mainly built in mud brick or stone.[83] The initial group of mercenaries may have built wooden structures out of the wood from their ships before they learned how to build with local materials.[84]

[80]Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 177.

[81] Leonard, Naukratis, 10.

[82] Boardman, Overseas, 139.

[83] Boardman, Overseas, 139.

[84] Boardman, Overseas, 139.

About two feet above the burnt strata is one of the oldest temples at Naukratis, the temple of Aphrodite. Located at the southern end of town, the temple was built by Chians around 615-610 BC.[85] The Milesians built a temple to Apollo around the same time at the north end of town and it had an enclosure wall surrounding the temple.[86] The Naukratites also built temples for the Dioscuri and Hera in the northern end of town in the early sixth century BC.[87] Samos built the temple to Hera, and the sponsors of the Dioscuri temple remain unknown.[88] According to Herodotus, Aegina built a temple to Zeus in northern Naukratis, but the temple has yet to be found.[89]

The Great Temenos, which Petrie and Gardner associated with the Hellenion, is the most problematic sanctuary at Naukratis.[90] The joint venture represented a temple unlike any other in the Greek world; it was built in a group effort and Naukratites could worship all Greek gods, particularly the patron gods of the nine cooperating cities, at the sanctuary.[91] Hogarth believed Petrie's Great Temenos was not the Hellenion, but rather an Egyptian fortress, and that the Hellenion was located to the north along with a group of domestic buildings.[92] C. C. Edgar and Einar Gjerstad think that the Great Temenos

[85] Cook, "Amasis Greeks," 235; Coulson and Leonard, "Investigations Naukratis," 362.

[86] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 41-42.

[87] Boardman, Overseas, 140; Coulson and Leonard, "Investigations Naukratis," 362.

[88] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 41.

[89] Austin, Greece Egypt Archaic, 24.

[90] Coulson and Leonard, "Preliminary Survey Naukratis," 154.

[91] Boardman, Overseas, 142.

[92] Coulson and Leonard, "Investigations Naukratis," 365-366.

was actually the remains of a group of Egyptian temples and public buildings.[93] According to the Naukratis Project, objects found in the northern end of the town with inscriptions to "the gods of the Greeks" provide strong evidence that the citizens of Naukratis built the Hellenion in the north.[94] John Boardman also believes that Petrie and Gardner's southern structure is not the Hellenion.[95] He also denies that Egyptians lived at Naukratis.[96]

The presence of Greek cults and temples strongly indicates that the Greeks occupied Naukratis. All citizens used the temples regardless of who sponsored the construction, but it appears some settlers used specific temples more than others.[97] Archaeological evidence does not suggest Naukratis was separated into domestic, public, religious, or harbor districts because the cities' temples were spread out over the entire area of the town.[98]

Function of Naukratis

Naukratis was not an ordinary Greek colony. The Greeks did not come to Naukratis because of a lack of food or land or because of political problems. Pottery finds indicate that Psammetichus I hired Ionian and Carian mercenaries, who stayed in Egypt for careers in the military.[99] The town evolved from a military settlement to a

[93] Edgar, H. L. L., and D. G. H., "Naukratis," 110; Gjerstand, "Studies Archaic," 69.

[94] Edgar, H. L. L., and D. G. H., "Naukratis," 135.

[95] Overseas, 143.

[96] Boardman, Overseas, 143.

[97] Austin, Greece Egypt Archaic, 44.

[98] Möller, Naukratis Trade, 197.

[99] Sullivan, "Psammetichus Foundation," 177.

small trading post to an emporium, and its primary interest was trade activity. The Greeks acquired papyrus, linen, trinkets, corn, and grain from Egypt.[100] Greek merchants brought wine, olive oil, silver, and slaves to Egypt.[101]

Naukratis was an unusual trading site because it was mainly the Greeks who consumed the imported goods, not the Egyptians. The Naukratites preferred to use their native goods rather than adopt local products. The few items the Greeks produced at Naukratis, such as pottery and sculpture, were also produced for local Greeks who bought and dedicated the objects to deities.[102] Under Amasis, Naukratis was the only legal center where Greeks could settle and trade.[103] The entire town acted as an emporium.[104]

The ancient town remained a fundamentally Greek city; the citizens consumed their native goods, built sanctuaries to worship their native gods, and were self-governed and organized according to the Greek tradition. It was a joint settlement established by all Hellenic peoples, the Dorians, the Ionians, and the Aeolians. Naukratis was a Greek polis, practically an independent city-state, located inside a foreign country.

Archaeological Evidence for Greeks in Egypt: Minor Sites

Pottery found outside of Naukratis indicates that Greeks lived or traded in other areas of Egypt. The Naukratis Project uncovered Greek pottery at Kom Firin and Kom

[100] Austin, Greece Egypt Archaic, 35.

[101] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 40; Möller, Naukratis Trade, 76.

[102] Möller, Naukratis Trade, 199.

[103] Coulson and Leonard, Cities Delta, 1.

[104] Coulson and Leonard, Cities Delta, 1.

Kortas that had earlier dates than pieces found at Naukratis.[105] Petrie excavated at the modern site of Tell Defenneh, now believed to be ancient Daphnae, and discovered East Greek pottery dating to between 570 and 525 BC.[106] A large fort near Daphnae, possibly Migdol, had Greek cremation burials and pottery from the sixth century BC.[107]

The distribution of Greek pottery in other areas of Egypt outside of the Delta is widespread. Corinthian and East Greek pottery found in Memphis share the same date as Naukratite pottery, and Thebes had East Greek and Athenian pottery from the early sixth century BC.[108] Abu Simbel, Rhakoti, Heliopolis, the Fayum, Luxor, Karnak, Edfu, and Sanam (Nubia) also yielded Greek pottery. [109] Nea Polis, or New City, located in Upper Egypt could be a Greek city.[110] Some islands along the Nile such as Ephesus, Chios, Lesbos, Cyprus, and Samos are named after Greek areas and the islands may represent trading posts where the Greeks traded with native Egyptians.[111] The pottery finds show a strong Greek presence in Egypt during Dynasty 26.

Part Three: Summary

The Greek kouros has a similar pose, size, material, shape, proportions, muscular details, and function as Egyptian statuary, which strongly indicates that the Greeks developed the kouros from an Egyptian model. The renewed relationship between

[105] Coulson and Leonard, "Investigations Naukratis," 377; Coulson and Leonard, "Preliminary Survey Naukratis," 161.

[106] Cook, "Amasis Greeks," 229.

[107] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 44.

[108] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 47.

[109] Boardman, Overseas, 140.

[110] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 47.

[111] Braun, "Greeks Egypt," 47.

Greece and Egypt under Dynasty 26 led to the foundation of Naukratis, which is probably where Greek artists learned about Egyptian sculpture. Literary records and archaeological evidence strongly suggest a Greek presence in Egypt.

Ancient authors state Psammetichus I employed Ionian and Carian mercenaries, who permanently settled in Naukratis in the mid to late seventh century BC. East Greek pottery, kouroi, and Greek temples confirm the written records; the transplanted soldiers continued to use their native goods and worship the deities of their homeland. The military settlement grew into a large, thriving port of trade that focused on importing Greek goods for the Greek citizens. The prosperous city probably attracted new settlers such as artists. They thus had the opportunity to view Egyptian art first hand, absorbing the foreign sculpture's form and style.

Greek artists took the new ideas back to their homelands in the Aegean basin, which created the earliest kouroi, especially Samos and the Cycladic Islands. Literary sources also indicate that Greeks from Samos were among the original group of settlers. Greek artists probably borrowed ideas they could easily adapt to their sculptural tradition. They did not embrace all of the characteristics or production methods of Egyptian statuary. The argument for the Egyptian origin of the Greek kouros is strengthened by the fact that Greece also borrowed from Egyptian architecture. It appears that Egyptian temples and palaces influenced the use of hard stone, large-scale structures, and the shape of columns and column capitals in Greek architecture.



Figure 4-1. Map of Mediterranean Basin with Greece and Egypt. (Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/europe/mediterranean_rel82.jpg, Last accessed May 1, 2005).



Figure 4-2. Pharaoh Menkaure and his wife Khamerernebty, 2548-2530 BC, slate, 4 ft. 6.5 in, from Giza. (Smith, Ancient Egypt, pg. 22).



Figure 4-3. Front view of Pharaoh Thutmosis III, 1504-1450 BC, grayish-green slate, 6.5 ft, from Karnak. (Lange and Hirmer, Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years, fig. 140, right).

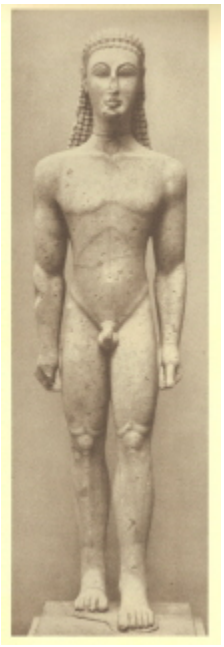


Figure 4-4. Front view of New York Kouros, 600-580 BC, Naxian marble, 1.843 m, from Attica. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 27).



Figure 4-5. Right Side view of Pharaoh Thutmosis III, 1504-1450 BC, grayish-green slate, 6.5 ft, from Karnak. (Lange and Hirmer, Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years, fig. 140, left).



Figure 4-6. Right Side view of New York kouros, 600-580 BC, Naxian marble, 1.843 m, from Attica. (Richter, Kouroi, fig. 27).



Figure 4-7. Rahotep and Nofret, c. 2580 BC, painted limestone, from mastaba tomb at Meydum. (Smith, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, pl. 29, B).



Figure 4-8. Memnon colossi, 1386-1349 BC, from funerary temple of Pharaoh Amenhotep III, Thebes. (Smith, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, pl. 119).



Figure 4-9. Court at funerary temple of Ramesses II, 1279-1212 BC, Thebes. (Lange and Hirmer, Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years, fig. 246).



Figure 4-10. Fragment of colossal kouros, 615-590 BC, marble, from Delos. (Source: http://www.wisc.edu/arth/ah302/07-Kouroi/13.image.html, Last accessed May 1, 2005).



Figure 4-11. Menkaure and his wife on the grid for the Egyptian canon of proportions. (Source: http://mil.ccc.cccd.edu/classes/art100/module3.htm, Last accessed May 1, 2005).

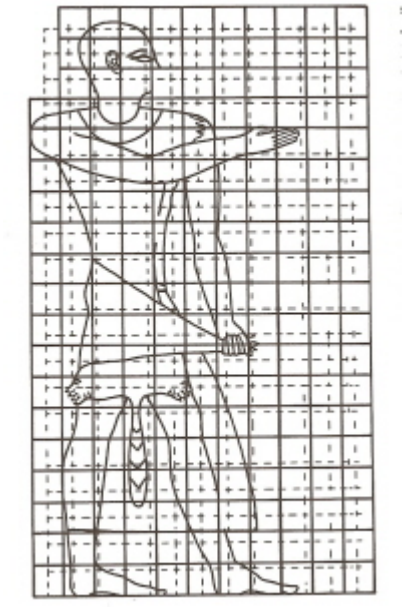


Figure 4-12. Figure on hypothetical New Kingdom 18-square grid (solid lines) and Dynasty 26 21.25-square grid (dotted lines). (Robins, Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art, fig. 4.7).

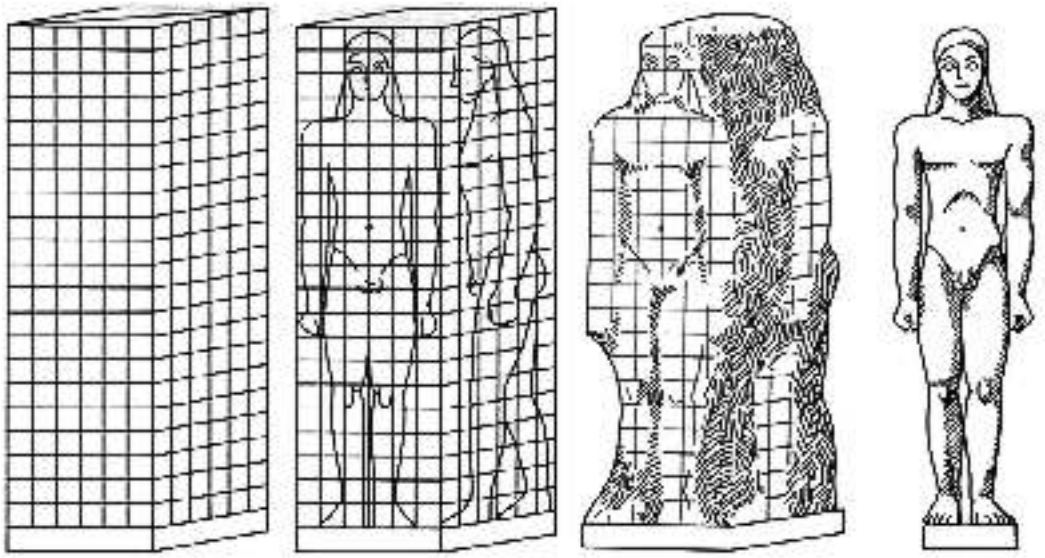


Figure 4-13. Diagram with kouros inside Egyptian canon of proportions. (Source: http://www.mlahanas.de/Greeks/Arts/Kouros.htm, Last accessed May1, 2005).

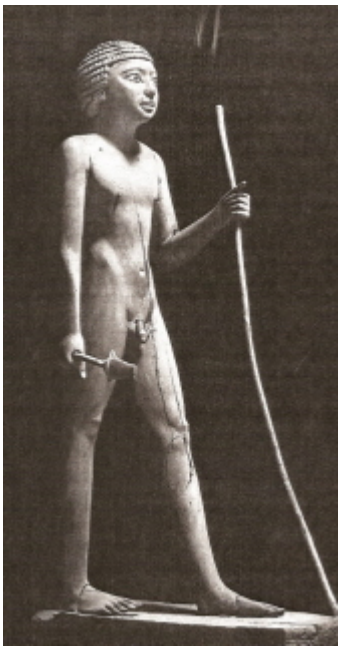


Figure 4-14. Irukapta (an official), 2563-2423 BC, painted limestone, 73.5 cm. (Michowski, Great Sculpture of Ancient Egypt, pg. 108, right).



Figure 4-15. Seneb and his family, c. 2530 BC, painted limestone, from Giza. (Aldred, Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs 3100-320 BC, fig. 37).



Figure 4-16. Statue of a man, 2423-2263 BC, ebony wood, 66 cm, from tomb of Merire-hashtef, near Heliopolis. (Michalowski, Great Sculpture of Ancient Egypt, pg. 111).



Figure 4-17. Pharaoh Hor, 1765 BC, wood. (Smith, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, pl. 65, A).



Figure 4-18. Map of ancient Egypt. (Source: http://oi.uchicago.edu/OI/INFO/MAP/SITE/Egypt_Site_150dpi.html, Last accessed April 24, 2005).



Figure 4-19. Map of Naukratis. (Jenkins, "Archaic Kouroi in Naukratis: The Case for Cypriot Origin," fig. 2).

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS

The Archaic kouros is a problematic form of statuary because it has features not used in previous Greek sculpture, it was made for a relatively short amount of time, and the earliest examples have different styles and features. Scholars debate where Greek artists received inspiration to create the new features on the short-lived type and two schools of thought attempt to explain the origin of the kouros. One theory states the kouros developed from the Greek tradition of sculpture. The features of kouroi are either derived from previous forms of Greek statuary or are new characteristics created by Greek artists. The second hypothesis holds that foreign sculptural traditions provided models for the kouros. Archaeologists adhering to this idea think the Near East or Egypt influenced the features of the kouros.

It is apparent that Greek artists gathered ideas for the kouros from a variety of sources. Each theory by itself does not account for all the characteristics of the sculptural type. Evidence indicates Greek sculptors took ideas from foreign sculptural traditions and combined the features with their native traditions to create a new, uniquely Greek form of sculpture.

In Greek art, Greek armor and the Daedalic style had the most potential for influencing the kouros. Pieces of Greek armor, such as the corselet and greave, take the form of a nude male body and artists probably absorbed the shape and technique of making armor into the Greek sculptural tradition. It appears that Greek artists adopted the nude form and the technique of hammering out armor to create sphyrelaton pieces.

The nude sphyrelaton works, made in Greece already since the Geometric period, established a tradition of naturalistic nude representations of men in Greek sculpture that preceded and probably influenced the kouros.

It seems likely that the Daedalic style influenced the standing pose of the kouros. It probably also influenced the small size and impetus for large-scale representations and perhaps the use of soft stone, metal, and terracotta materials of some early kouroi. Greek artists borrowed these features from Near Eastern sculpture to create the Orientalizing Daedalic style and artists continued using these characteristics in the Archaic kouros. Some early kouroi also appear to have Daedalic body types. The earliest kouroi from the Cycladic Islands and Samos differ from other early kouroi in that they have more triangular shaped features and belts reminiscent of the Daedalic style. Artists probably carved the Island kouroi during an overlapping part of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods. Sculptors were still creating pieces in the Daedalic style as they began exploring the new Archaic style and the first kouroi probably emerged as a combination of the two. The kouros type spread from the Aegean to other areas of Greece, which made pieces in the Archaic style and replaced the Daedalic works.

But the native tradition does not account for all of the kouros' characteristics. The Near East had some impact on Archaic kouroi. Lydia had a strong tradition of soft and hard stone architecture. Greece probably acquired a new set of iron tools and sculpting techniques for hard stone from Lydia. The marble burial chamber in the tomb of Alyattes indicates Lydia had the ability to work with hard stone. It is highly likely that Greek sculptors adopted Lydian tools and techniques and applied the skills to marble statuary.

There are several ways the Greeks could have adopted the ideas from Lydia and brought the new information back to Greece. Because the first kouroi were carved in the Cycladic Islands and Samos, these areas may have been the first to receive the new set of tools and carving methods. Phoenician merchants could have brought the new skills to Greece, and Phoenicia did have a long standing trading relationship with the Aegean. But Phoenician merchants usually traded their finished products for raw goods. It seems unlikely that Phoenician merchants untrained in the art of sculpture would have seen the potential of iron sculpting tools and traded them. Greeks visiting or living in north Syrian coastal settlements such as Al Mina and Tell Sukas had access to land trade routes to Lydia. They could have brought the tools and techniques to the coastal settlements and transported the ideas back to Greece. This argument is strengthened by the fact that archaeologists found Cycladic pottery at the coastal sites, which suggests Greeks from the Cyclades were in ancient Syria. But Al Mina functioned as an emporium and the pottery is not necessarily indicative of its inhabitants. There is also no evidence of sculptural workshops, which suggests sculptors did not visit or work in the Near East.

A third possibility and the most likely is that Ionian Greeks learned the skills directly from Lydia. King Gyges conquered the Ionian Greeks and gave them trading rights in his empire. The conquered Ionians may have seen the Lydian tombs and adopted the new tools and sculpting techniques. Ionian Samos produced some of the earliest kouroi and it probably adopted and shared its new tools with nearby areas such as the Cycladic Islands.

But the Greek and Near Eastern sculptural traditions did not contribute all of the characteristics of the kouros. Egypt probably also influenced the kouros. One of the

most distinctive characteristics of the kouros is the standing pose with the left foot advanced, which does not appear in Greek art before the kouros. Greek sculptors had already established a strong tradition of the frontal-facing standing figure in the Daedalic style, but a majority of kouroi did not stand with their feet together like Daedalic figures. It seems unlikely that Greek artists would develop an animated walking pose from a static standing figure. The most logical source of the kouros' walking pose is Egyptian sculpture.

The frontal-facing walking figure was the most frequently used pose in Egyptian statuary from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period. Greek artists probably adopted the walking figure from Egypt, but they made a few changes to the Egyptian pose to accommodate the Greek sculptural tradition. They did not include the back pillar and the extra material between the fists, between the arms and torso, and between the legs of the Egyptian figure. Kouroi did not lean back and place their weight on one leg but stood upright and placed an equal amount of weight on both legs. Greek sculptors most likely adopted the Egyptian walking pose and applied it to an already established Greek standing figure.

It appears that Greek artists also adopted the large scale and the use of hard stone from Egyptian sculpture. Egypt produced life-size statuary since the Old Kingdom and exploited colossal sculpture in the New Kingdom. Egypt also mastered carving hard stones such as quartzite, schist, granite, and basalt as early as the Predynastic Period. These stones were not native to Greece, but Greek artists copied the idea of hard stone by creating works in its indigenous marble. Among cultures in the Near East and Egypt, Egypt was the only one to carve sculpture on a large scale in hard stone, which makes it

the logical choice for influencing these characteristics of the kouros. Some of the earliest kouroi are colossal and marble, traits that do not continue in later times, which indicate Greek sculptors immediately embraced and experimented with large scale and hard stone.

While Greek artists adopted the use of hard stone from Egypt, evidence suggests they did not adopt the Egyptian technique of carving hard stone. Egyptian sculptors made hard stone statuary with natural dolerite rocks and pebbles and they used sand as an abrasive. Egypt did not adopt technology or stone working methods that developed elsewhere and continued with its ancient methods throughout its civilization. In the Egyptian sculptural tradition, a group of specialized artisans worked together to create a sculpture, while one Greek artist completed a work (sometimes with the aid of assistants). The fact that Greek sculptors did not replicate the Egyptian technique of carving hard stone makes the argument for an adoption of Lydian methods stronger. While Greece adopted Lydian tools and stone carving techniques to make early kouroi, it probably received inspiration to produce hard stone sculpture from Egypt.

Evidence suggests the Greeks also borrowed the four-side block-like shape, the deconstruction of the body into geometric shapes, and the canon of proportions from Egyptian sculpture. The Egyptians produced youthful men in the prime of their lives that had idealized, unnaturally symmetrical, and fit physiques. Even though some of the earliest kouroi had more Daedalic characteristics, a majority resembled the Egyptian tradition of square and rectangular shaped body parts. It is most likely that Greek sculptors borrowed the general shape of Egyptian sculpture and applied its form to the kouros.

It is also possible that the Greeks received ideas from Egyptian sculptural tradition about the function of the kouros. Egypt produced sculpture to serve as funerary statues and votive offerings and it is possible that Greece adopted these meanings for the kouros. But Greek artists made slight changes to the Egyptian functions. Egypt produced funerary pieces as final resting places for the ka, the spirit of the deceased, and Greece used kouroi as grave markers. Both cultures made votive statuary, but the Egyptian pieces represented their patron in a continual state of prayer before the gods and the Greeks offered kouroi to the gods in appreciation for their favor. The similar meanings indicate Greek artists may have borrowed the function of Egyptian statuary, but adapted the function to fit the needs of Greek society. This theory is strengthened by the fact that the earliest kouroi represent both votive offerings and grave markers. It appears that Greece adopted both meanings of Egyptian sculpture simultaneously.

Naukratis probably played an important role in exposing Greek artists to Egyptian art. Historical records and archaeological finds indicate Psammetichus I employed Ionian mercenaries and allowed the soldiers to settle at Naukratis in exchange for serving in his permanent army. Initially a mercenary camp, Naukratis grew into an emporium whose main activity was trading with its Greek homeland to obtain native Greek goods. Herodotus wrote that the original settlers of Naukratis were from mercantile cities in the Aegean basin, which established trade routes to Naukratis. The prosperous city attracted new settlers, including artists, and archaeologists believe they established workshops near religious precincts to create devotional objects. Kouroi were found in the Sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Apollo.. Even though the kouroi were carved from local soft stones, are smalle scale, and date later than the earliest known kouroi, the statues show that Greek

artists were probably experimenting with Egyptian sculptural ideas at Naukratis at an early date. It is most likely that Greek artists took the features of Egyptian statuary back to Greece, specifically the Aegean basin. Samos and the Cycladic Islands had received the tools and skills necessary to work with marble from Lydia and they adopted the new foreign characteristics of Egyptian sculpture to create the Archaic style and the kouros type.

It appears that both schools of thought were correct. The kouros has features of both the Greek tradition of sculpture and foreign cultures. The Archaic kouros emerged as a combination of Greek, Lydian, and Egyptian ideas, which produced a new, unique form of Greek statuary. But the kore, the female counterpart to the Archaic kouros, appears to have different origins. Greek sculptors made the kouros and kore at the same time, but it is more likely that the kore's form developed from the Daedalic style and a Near Eastern model. It appears that early Archaic sculpture was heavily influenced by foreign cultures and artists received inspiration from different sources to create the kouros and kore types.

APPENDIX
CATALOGUE OF KOUROI

Trapezia:

1. Site: possibly Trapezia; Whole bronze kouros; Present location: London, British Museum, no. 1905.6-10.1; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 7 cm; Bibliography: Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 43, fig. 160-162.

Thasos:

2. Site: Thasos Akropolis, built into a medieval wall; Whole archaic Parian marble kouros: restorations on part of right arm and part of left elbow; Present location: Thasos, Thasos Museum; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 3.50 m, with plinth=3.60 m; Size: colossal, two times life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: ram-bearer (kriophoros), hair fillet, not finished; *AJA*, 68, (1964), 17-18; Boardman, *Archaic Period*, 1978, fig. 69; Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 31 ff., fig. 32-34; Floren, *Die geometrische and archaische Plastik*, 1987, pg. 323, no. 3; *Guide de Tha*sos, 1968, pg. 115; Picard, *B. C. H.* XLV, 1921, pp. 88, 113 ff; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 14, figs. 84-86, 106; Ridgway, *Arc. St. Gr. Sc.*, fig. 32a, 32b, pl. XIX; Zevros, *L'Art en Grece*, 2nd ed., fig. 108-110.

Samos:

3. Site: Samos; Partial wooden kouros: arms missing; Present Location: Samos, Vathy Museum; Date: 650-625 BC; Distinguishing characteristics: chiton, belt; Bibliography: Ohly, *Ath Mitt*, LXVIII, 1953, pp. 86 ff., no. 5; Richter, *Kouroi*, fig. 17-19.

4. Site: Samos; Fragment of marble kouros: right hand; Present location: Samos, Vathy Museum; Date: 615-590 BC; Size: colossal; Bibliography: Buschor, *Alt St*, I, p. 8, fig. I, 2; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 25, fig. 93.

5. Site: Heraion, Samos, between temple and southern colonnade; Fragment of marble kouros: upper leg to knee; Present location: Samos, Vathy Museum; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 1.32 m; Size: colossal, three times life-size; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Buschor, *Alt St*, I, p. 8, figs. 3-4, 19; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 24, fig. 96.

6. Site: Tigani, Samos; Partial lead kouros: left foot missing; Present location: Florence, Museo Archeologico; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 11.5 cm;

Bibliography: Minto, *Critica d' Arte*, VIII, 1943, pp. 17 ff; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 21, fig. 111-113.

7. Site: Heraion, Samos; Fragment of wooden kouros: head with tang; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 18809; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 3.5 cm; Bibliography: Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 20, fig. 107, 110.

8. Site: Heraion, Samos; Whole bronze kouros; Present location: Samos, Vathy Museum; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 19 cm; Bibliography: Buschor, *Alt St*, I, p. 9, figs. 5, 7, 8; *Fr. J.*, p. 74 f., fig. 84-85; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 22, fig. 117-119.

9. Site: Heraion, Samos; Whole bronze; Present location: Samos, Vathy Museum; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 20 cm; Bibliography: Buschor, *Alt St*, p. 9, fig, 6, 9-10; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 23, fig. 120-122.

10. Site: Heraion, Samos; Whole bronze; Present location: Samos, Vathy Museum; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 11 cm; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Buschor, *Alt St*, I, p. II, fig. 29, 31-32; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 51, fig. 184-186.

11. Site: Heraion, Samos; Whole bronze; Present location: Samos, Vathy Museum; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 19 cm; Bibliography: Buschor, *Alt St*, I, p. 13, fig. 35, 37, 38; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 52, fig. 187-189.

Asia Minor:

12. Site: Didyma; Partial marble kouros: head to knees, arms missing; Present location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. 1710; Date: 590-570 BC; Bibliography: Floren, *Die geometrische and archaische Plastik*, 1987, pg. 377, no. 14, pl 32.3; Pedley, *Gr Sc of Arc Period*, pls. 46 a-b, 47 a-b; Ridgway, *Arc St Gr Sc*, fig. 3.31 a-b, pl. XVIII; Tuchelt, *Die archaischen Skulpturen von Didyma, Beiträge zur frühgriechischen Plastik in Kleinasien*, 1970, pl. 18-19.

13. Site: Knidos; Partial limestone kouros: head to knees; Present location: London, British Museum, no. B 320; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 17 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Bibliography: Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 320, p. 150 f., fig. 189; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 56, fig. 200-201.

14. Site: Knidos; Fragment of limestone kouros: plinth and feet; Present location: London, British Museum, no. B 321; Date: 590-570 BC; Dimensions: h=5 cm, l of foot= 6 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: inscription on upper surface of plinth and left edge in Archaic Melian alphabet: "Euarchos dedicated me to the Dioskouroi;" Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 321, p. 151, fig. 190; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 57, fig. 150.

15. Site: possibly near Miletus; Whole bronze kouros; Present location: Paris, Cabinet des Medailles; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 16 cm; Bibliography: Babelon and

Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, no. 96; Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 59, I; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 55, fig. 196-197.

Rhodes:

16. Site: Kaminos, Rhodes; Partial limestone kouros: head to knees; Present location: London, British Museum, no. B 330; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 25.4 cm; Bibliography: Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 330, p. 160 f., pl. XXXV; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 27, fig. 126-128.

Crete:

17. Site: Crete; Whole bronze kouros; Present location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. 10556; Height: 17.3 cm; Bibliography: Neugebauer, *Katalog, Staatliche Museum, Berlin*, I, no. 159, pl. 20; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 52, fig. 190-192.

Egypt:

18. Site: Naukratis; Partial alabaster kouros: head to below knees; Present location: London, British Museum, no. B 438; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 25.7 cm; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 148, fig. 168-169; Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 438, p. 183 f., pl. XXXIX; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 28, fig. 129-130.

19. Site: Naukratis; Partial sandstone kouros: below neck to below knees; Present location: London, British Museum, no. B 444; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 10 cm; Bibliography: Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, pl. I, 4; Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 444, p. 187 f., fig. 225; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 29, fig. 131.

20. Site: Temenos of Aphrodite, Naukratis; Fragment of limestone kouros: head and neck; Present location: London, British Museum, no. 1934.3-8.5; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 14.8 cm; Bibliography: Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, pl. XIII, 4; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 30.

21. Site: Naukratis; Partial alabaster kouros: below neck to above knees; Present location: Cairo, Cairo Museum, no. 27426; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 15.2 cm; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 143; Edgar, *Catalogue de Musee de Caire, Greek Sculpture*, pp. V, I, no. 27426, pl. I; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 61, fig. 204-205

22. Site: Temenos of Apollo, Naukratis; Partial alabaster kouros: below neck to above knees; Present location: London, British Museum, B 441; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 12 cm; Bibliography: Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, pl. 1, 3; Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 441, p. 185 f., fig. 223; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 60, fig. 297.

23. Site: Temenos of Aphrodite**,** Naukratis; Partial alabaster kouros: neck to above knees; Present location: London, British Museum, B 442; Date: 590-570 BC;

Height: 15.2 cm; Bibliography: Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, pl. XIV, 13; Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 442, p. 186 f., pl. XI; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 59, fig. 206.

24. Site: Naukratis; Partial alabaster kouros: neck to above knees; Present location: London, British Museum, no. B 443; Date: mid 6th century; Height: 10.2 cm; Bibliography: Boardman, *Gr. Overseas*, fig. 143.

Cycladic Islands:

25. Site: Delos; Fragment of marble kouros: torso; Present location: Delos, Delos Museum; Date: c. 650 BC; Size: life-size; Bibliography: Richter, *Kouroi*, fig. 20-21.

26. Site: Delos; Fragment of marble kouros: torso and head; Present location: Delos, Delos Museum; Date: c. 650-625 BC; Size: life-size; Distinguishing, characteristics: belt; Bibliography: Richter, *Kouroi*, fig. 22-24.

27. Site: Delos; Whole bronze kouros; Present location: Delphi, Delphi Museum; Date: 625 BC; Height: 19 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: belt; Bibliography: Pedley, *Gr Art and Arch*, fig. 5.26; Richter, *Kouroi*, fig. 14-16.

28. Site: Temenos of Apollo, Delos; Fragments of island marble kouros: torso, part of left hand, plinth with left foot, and base; Present location: Delos (torso and base), Delos Museum, no. 4094 (left hand), London, British Museum, no. B 322 (plinth with left foot); Date: 615-590 BC; Size: colossal, four times life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: inscription on base d, dedicated by Naxians: "I am of the same stone both statue and base;" Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 27 ff., fig. 29-30; Courby, *BCH*, (1921) 235-237; Deonna, no. 81, no. 105; Durrbach, *Choix d' inscriptions de Delos*, I, p. 3 f., no. 3; Homolle, *BCH*, III, 1879, p. 2 (inscription); *IG*, XII, 5 test. 1425 c; Pedley, *Gr Sc Archaic*, fig. 3, pl. 2b, c; Perdrizet, *BCH*, (1897) 169-183; Pfeiffer, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtland Institute*, XV, 1952, pp. 20 ff; Picard, and Replat, *BCH*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 217 ff; Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 322, p. 152 f., fig. 192; Raubitschek, *Bulletin de l'Institut archeologique bulgare*, XII, 1938, p. 134; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 15, fig. 87-90; *S. G. D. I.* 5421.

29. Site: near Thera; Fragments of island marble kouros: head to buttocks and head and torso; Present location: Santorin Museum, no. 18A and 18B; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 18A=1.68 m, 18B=1.03 m; Size: colossal, two times life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, p. 60f., fig. 66-67; DeWaele, *Arch Anz*, 1931, col. 102-105, fig. 2; Homann-Wedeking, *Anfänge*, p. 67 f., fig. 24-25; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 18 A and B, figs. 97-102.

30. Site: possibly Thera; Fragment of Naxian marble kouros: head and neck; Present location: Leyden, Rijksmuseum, no. Ro III. 49; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 47 cm; Size: colossal, two times life-size; Bibliography: *Guide of Museum*, 1951, p.

9, fig. 4; Janssen, *De Griekse, Romeinse, en Etrurische Monumenten van het Museum van Oudheden te Leyden*, 1843-8, p. 20, no. 152; Pleyte and Jesse, *Catalogue*, 1897, p. 94, pl. IV; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 19, fig. 103-105.

31. Site: Temenos of Apollo, Delos; Fragment of Naxian marble kouros: base; Present location: Delos, Delos Museum, no. A 728; Date: 615-590 BC; Dimensions: 90 cm by 80 cm, h=58 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: three animals on base (ram, lion, and Gorgon head), inscription on base: "Euthykartides the Naxian made me and dedicated me;" Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 106; Durrbach, *Choix d' inscriptions de Delos*, I, p. 2, no. I; Homolle, *BCH*, XII, 1888, pp. 463 ff., pl. XIII; *I G*, XII.5, 1425; Kavvadias, *Ath Mitt*, X, 1885, p. 287; Kern, *Inscr Gr*, pl. 6; Marcade, *Signatures*, II, 45; Richter, *Kouroi*, pp. 53; *SGD*, I, 5419.

32. Site: Thera, opposite side of rock tombs at Cape Exomyti; Partial island marble kouros: head to right knee; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 8; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 1.24 m; Size: life-size; Function: possibly a grave marker; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 67 ff., fig. 79-80; Deonna, no. 129; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 49, fig. 178-183; Schrader in Hiller von Gaertingen, *Thera*, III, p.285, pl. 7, 12-14.

33. Site: Delos; Partial island marble kouros: neck to above knees; Present location: Delos, Delos Museum, no. 4045; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 0.515 m; Size: smaller than life size; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 86; Richter, *Kouroi*, fig. 176-177.

34. Site: Temenos of Apollo, Delos; Partial Naxian marble kouros: head to below pectorals; Present location: Delos, Delos Museum, no. A 3997; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 0.59 m; Size: slightly over life-size; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 84, fig. 97-99; Richter, *Kouroi*, fig. 174-175

35. Site: possibly Naxos; Fragment of Naxian marble kouros: head; Present location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glpytothek, no. 2821; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 41 cm; Size: colossal, two times life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 61 ff., fig. 68-70; Coulsen, F., *Catalogue*, no. Ia; Coulsen, V. H., *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, II, 1938, pp. 65 ff; Homann-Wedeking, *Anfänge*, p. 87 f., fig. 47; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 50, fig. 172-173.

36. Site: Delos; Partial Naxian marble kouros: waist to knees; Present location: Delos, Delos Museum, no. A 333; Height: 0.85 m; Size: colossal, two times life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: belt; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 83; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 17, fig. 94-95.

37. Site: Paros; Partial island marble kouros: neck to above right knee, arms missing; Present location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, no. 2030; Height: 0.81

m; Size: life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: offering-bearer; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, 126 ff., fig. 146-147; Deonna, no. 123; Loewy, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterriech-Ungarn*, 11, 1887, 160 f., fig. 14-15; Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, *Billedtravler* pl. 1, 1a; Pedley, *Gr Sc of Arc Period*, no. 25, pl. 18 a-b, 19; Poulsen, F., *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture*, no. 1a; Richter, Kouroi, no. 117, fig. 347-349; Ridgway, *Arc Sty Gr Sc*, figs. 3.33 a-b, pl. XX.

Attica:

38. Site: Kerameikos, Athens; Partial island marble kouros: head to upper thighs, restorations on majority of face, part of hair, pieces of waist and neck; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 71; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 0.75 m; Size: life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Function: grave marker; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 53 f., fig. 56; Deonna, no. 3, fig. 4-6; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 9, fig. 69-71; Stais, 1887, col. 35 ff., pl. I.

39. Site: Agora, Athens; Fragments of island marble kouros: forearm, back, knee, shoulder; Present location: Athens, Agora Museum, forearm (no. S 530), back (no. S 287), knee (no. S 1739), shoulder (no. S 1908); Date: 615-590 BC; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Bibliography: E. Harrison, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 290 ff; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 7, fig. 54-59, 68.

40. Site: Temple of Poseidon, Sounion; Fragments of marble kouros: base a, b, c, and d; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 2720 (base a), no. 3645 (base b), no. 3939 (bases c and d); Date: 615-590 BC; Dimensions: base a: h=25 cm, w=80 cm, l=98 cm, l of foot=41cm; base b: h=24 cm, w=84 cm, l=97 cm, l of foot=42 cm; base c: h=20.5 cm, w=72 cm, l=97.5 cm, l of foot=32cm; base d (only half preserved): w=65 cm, l=85 cm, l of foot=42 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet (no. 2720); Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Rhomaios, *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, 1931, pp. 91, 102, fig. 15-19; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 5, fig. 48-49.

41. Site: Mesogia, Attica; Fragments of marble kouros: piece of thigh and right hand, part of thumb missing; Present location: Athens, Collection of Mr. Marinas Kalliga; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 16.5 cm; Bibliography: Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 8, fig. 63-64.

42. Site: Temple of Poseidon, Sounion; Whole island marble kouros: restorations on left arm, part of right arm, lower right leg, majority of face; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 2720; Date: 600 BC; Size: colossal, two times life-size; Height: 3.05 m; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet, plinth and base do not belong to statue; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Budde, *Die attischen Kuroi* (Diss. 1939), pp. 9-11; Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 22 ff., fig. 22-28; Deonna, no. 7, fig. 16-17; Homann-Wedeking, *Anfänge*, p. 79, fig. 37; Rhomaios,

Antike Denkmäler, IV, 1931, pp. 91-105, pl. 47-56; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 2, fig. 33-39.

43. Site: Temple of Poseidon, Sounion; Partial island marble kouros: lower neck to knees, restorations on right leg, both knees; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 3645; Sounion; Date: 600 BC; Height: 1.65 m; Size: slightly over life-size; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Budde, *Die attischen Kuroi* (Diss. 1939), p. 2 f; Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 53 ff., fig. 54, 55; Deonna, no. 8; Homann-Wedeking, *Anfänge*, p. 79, ff., fig. 38-39; Rhomaios, *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, 1931, pp. 91 ff., pl. 55-56; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 3, fig. 40-41.

44. Site: possibly Attica; Whole Naxian marble kouros: restorations on small pieces that chipped off; Present location: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 32.11.1; Date: 600-580 BC; Height: 1.843 m; Size: slightly over life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet, neck band; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 17 ff., fig. 15-20; Homann-Wedeking, *Anfänge*, pp. 77 ff., fig. 36; Richter, *Cat. of Gk. Sc.*, no.1; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 1, fig. 25-32, 60-62; Richter, *Met Mus Studies*, V, I, 1934, pp. 20 ff; I. A. Richter, Ibid. pp. 51 ff.; Richter in Brunn-Bruckmann-Arndt, *Denkmäler*, no. 751-755; Ridgway, *Arc St Gr Sc*, pl. XVII, fig. 3.28.

45. Site: Dipylon Cemetery, Athens; Fragment of island marble kouros: head and hand; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 3372 (head) and no. 3965 (hand); Date: 590 BC; Dimensions: head=44 cm, hand=29.2 cm; Size: slightly over life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet (no. 3372); Function: grave marker; Bibliography: Budde, *Die attischen Kuroi* (Diss. 1939), pp. 3 ff; Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 15 ff. fig. 11-14; Buschor, *Ath Mitt*, LII, 1927, pp. 205 ff. (head), pl. 28, 29; Homann-Wedeking, *Anfänge*, p. 75; Ibid. 55 (1930), pp. 163 ff. (hand); Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 6, fig. 50-53, 65-67; Richter, *Met Mus Studies*, 5.1 (1934), pp. 32 ff; Richter in Brunn-Bruckman-Arndt, *Denkmäler*, no. 751-755, pp. 15 ff.

46. Site: Volomandra; Partial Parian marble kouros: head to heels, restorations on front portion of both feet; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 1906; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 1.79 m; Size: slightly over life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Function: grave marker; Bibliography: Budde, *Die attischen Kuroi* (Diss. 1939), pp. 12 ff; Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 57 ff., fig. 61-63; Deonna, no. 5, fig. 10-12; Homann-Wedeking, *Anfänge*, p. 90, fig. 48; Papaspiridi, *Guide du Musee National*, p. 27; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 63, fig. 208-216.

47. Site: Moschato, New Phaleron, near Piraeus Street, formerly the Theseion; Partial island marble kouros: head, torso, waist; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 3858; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 0.70 m; Size: life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr. J.*, pp. 55 ff., fig. 57-9; Homann-Wedeking, *Anfänge*, pp. 87 f., fig. 46; Kyparissis and

Homann-Wedeking, *Ath Mitt*, LXIII/LXIV, 1938-39, pp. 156 ff., pls. 49-54; Langlotz in Schrader, *Akropolis*, p. 41; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 31, fig. 132-133, 136-137.

48. Site: Markopoulo; Fragment of marble kouros: neck to waist; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 4181; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 0.30 cm; Size: smaller than life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: neckband; Bibliography: Kyparissis and Homann-Wedeking, *Ath Mitt*, 63/64, 1938/9, p. 158, pls. 55-57; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 32, fig. 134-135.

49. Site: Athens; Partial marble kouros: head to knees; Present location: Athens, Akropolis Museum, no. 624; Date: 570 BC; Distinguishing characteristics: offering-bearer (moschophoros), draped figure, face bearded, eyes inlaid, inscription on base: offered by Rhonbos; Bibliography: Ridgway, *Arc St Gr Sc*, fig. 3.34, pl. XX.

Boeotia:

50. Site: Ptoan Sanctuary; Fragment of limestone kouros: head and part of neck; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 15; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 33 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 35; Holleaux, *BCH*, X, 1886, pp. 98 ff., pl. V; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 10, figs. 72-75.

51. Site: necropolis of Kakali, Tanagra, Boeotia; Whole limestone kouros relief: Dermys (L), Kittylos (R); Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 56; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: total=2 m, figures=1.47 m; Distinguishing characteristics: high relief, inscription on base; inscription on stele near legs:; Function: grave marker; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 32 ff., fig. 37-38; Friedländer, *Epigrammata*, no. 4; *IG*, VIII, 579; Körte, *Ath Mitt*, III, 1878, pp. 309 ff; Papaspiridi, *Guide du Musee National*, p. 22; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 11, fig. 76-77; *SGDI*, 875.

52. Site: possibly Ptoan Sanctuary; Partial marble kouros head to knees; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 9; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 1.27 m; Size: life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Bibliography: Conze and Michaelis, *Annali*, 1861, p. 79 f., pl. E, I; Deonna, no. 26, fig. 25-27; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 33, fig. 138-140.

53. Site: possibly Boeotia; Partial marble kouros: head to left knee; Present location: London, British Museum, no. 474; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 0.77 m; Size: smaller than life-size; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 25, fig. 22-24; Pryce, *Catalogue*, B 474, pp. 202 ff., pl. XLII; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 9, fig; 151-153.

54. Site: Ptoan Sanctuary; Partial marble kouros: head to above right knee, restorations on back of right leg from buttock to knee; Present location: Thebes,

Thebes Museum, no. 1; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 1.42 m; Size: smaller than life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 42; Mendel, *B. C. H.* XXXI, 1907, no. 2, fig. 2-4; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 34, fig. 141-143; Ridgway, *Arc St Gr Sc*, pl. XIV, fig. 3.24.

55. Site: Ptoan Sanctuary; Partial island marble kouros: pectoral muscles to knee; Present location: Thebes, Thebes Museum, no. 5; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 0.50 m; Size: life-size; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 46, fig. 54-55; Mendel, *B. C. H.* XXXI, 1907, p. 199, no. 6, fig. 10; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 35.

56. Site: Ptoan Sanctuary; Fragment of marble kouros: plinth with feet; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 2325; Date: 590-570 BC; Dimensions: l=45 cm, height of foot=29 cm, height of plinth=12 cm; Size: colossal, two to three times life-size; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 40; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 38, fig. 147.

57. Site: Ptoan Sanctuary; Fragment of island marble kouros: plinth with feet; Present location: Thebes, Thebes Museum; Date: 590-570 BC; Dimensions: l of plinth=45 cm, l of feet=23 cm; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 56, fig. 61; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 36, fig. 148.

58. Site: Ptoan Sanctuary; Fragment of island marble kouros: plinth, left foot, part of right foot; Present location: Thebes, Thebes Museum; Date: 590-570 BC; Dimensions: l of plinth=30 cm, l of left foot= 17 cm; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Deonna, no. 58, fig. 63; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 37, fig. 149.

Northern Greece:

59. Site: Delphi, A: northwest of Treasury of Athenians at Delphi, plinth A: near statue A at Delphi, statue A: 10 m west of statue A at Delphi, plinth B: in walls of Roman bath near eastern gate of Temenos at Delphi; 2 whole marble kouroi: Biton (A), Kleobis (B), bases missing, restorations on A: ankles, feet; B: left leg below knee, left foot, right knee, right ankle, right foot; Present location: Delphi, Delphi Museum, no. 467 and 1524 (statues), 980 and 4672 (bases); Date: 590-580 BC; Height: A: 2.16 m (without plinth=1.97 m), B: 2.18 m (without plinth=1.58 m); Size: slightly over life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillets, boots, inscription: base B; Artist: (….)medes of Argos; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 35 ff., fig. 39-41; Deonna, no. 66, fig. 67-69; Homolle, *F.d.D.* IV, fasc. I, pp. 5 ff., pls. I-II; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 12 A and B, fig. 78-83, 91-92.

60. Site: Actium, Acarnania, possibly from Sanctuary of Apollo; Partial Naxian marble kouros: neck to knees; Present location: Paris, Louvre, no. MNB 767; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 1 m; Size: life-size; Bibliography: Buschor, *Fr J*, p. 43 f., fig. 45, 46; Collingnon, *Gazette archeologique*, XI, 1886, pp. 235 ff., pl. 29,

left; Deonna, no. I, fig. I; Louvre, *Catalogue sommaire*, 1922, p. 41, no. 688; Pedley, *Gr Sc Archaic*, fig. 17, pl. 11a; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 40, fig. 154-156.

61. Site: Delphi Sanctuary; Partial bronze kouros: head to knees; Present location: Delphi, Delphi Museum, no. 2846; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 15.5 cm; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Perdrizet, *F. d. D.*, v, p. 29, pl. I, 6; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 42, fig. 157-159.

62. Site: Dodona; Whole bronze kouros; Present location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. 7976; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 1.8 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Bibliography: Berlin, *Führer*, Bronzen, p. 37, no. 7976;Buschor, *Fr J*, pp. 40 ff; Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 435; Neugebauer, *Katalog, Staatliche Museen, Berlin*, I, no. 213, pl. 38; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 45, fig. 166-168.

Peloponessus:

63. Site: Olympia; Whole bronze kouros; Present location: Athens, National Museum; Date: 700-675 BC; Height: 23.7 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: belt, helmet; Bibliography: Pedley, *Gr Art and Arch*, fig. 5.24.

64. Site: Olympia; Whole bronze kouros; Present location: Olympia, Olympia Museum; Date: 700-650 BC; Distinguishing characteristics: belt; Bibliography: Kunze, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff., pl. 38 ff; Richter, *Kouroi*, fig. 6-8.

65. Site: Temenos of Hera limneia, Perachora; Whole terracotta kouros; Present location: Athens, National Museum, no. 16503; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 23.3 cm; Bibliography: Jenkins in Payne, *Perachora*, pl. 91, no. 42a; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 44, fig. 163-165.

66. Site: possibly Temple of Apollo Epikouris, Phigaleia; Partial lead kouros: head to knees, arms missing; Present location: Athens, National Museum; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 3.7 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: hat, belt; Function: votive offering; Bibliography: Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 13, fig. 114-116.

67. Site: Phigaleia; Partial marble kouros: neck to right knee; Present location: Olympia, Olympia Museum; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 1.045 m; Size: life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: inscription on chest; Bibliography: Budde, *Die attischen Kuroi* (Diss. 1939), p. 54, pl I; Buschor, *Fr J*, p. 12 f., fig. 9; Deonna, no. 79; Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, p. 40f., IV, p. 391 f; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pp. 327, 332 f., fig. 79; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 41, fig. 144-146.

68. Site: Trikorgon, near Naupaktos; Fragment of island marble kouros: head and neck; Present location: Delphi, Delphi Museum, no. 7534; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 22.8 cm; Size: life-size; Distinguishing characteristics: hair fillet; Bibliography: Daux, *BCH*, LXXX, 1956, p. 297, fig. 10-12; Lerat, *Les Locriensde l'Ouest*, 1952, p. 157; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 46, fig. 169-171.

Western Greece/Magna Graecia:

69. Site: Selinus; Whole bronze kouros; Present location: Palermo, National Museum, no. S 905-no. 73; Date: 615-590 BC; Height: 11.3 cm; Distinguishing characteristics: hat; Bibliography: Marconi, *Itinerari*, no. II, p. 55, I; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 30, fig. 108-109.

70. Site: Taranto; Whole terracotta kouros; Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no. 1886-744; Date: 590-570 BC; Height: 0.15 cm; Bibliography: Evans, *JHS*, VII, 1886, p. 25, fig. 3, p. 27, no. 8; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 62, fig. 202-203; Winter, *Die Typen figürlicher Terrakotten*, I, p. 177, no. 4.

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